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ABSTRACT

Harmonized with UNICEF's efforts to reduce hazardous and exploitative forms of child labor, this compilation of key texts examines the area of child labor and basic education. The articles are organized into four main areas covering ideas, debates, evidence, and case studies. The first part provides some definitions of childhood, work, exploitation and education. The second part provides a review of changes in policy attitudes at an international level and presents some of the classical views in both the compulsory education and fertility debates. The cases of India, China, Java and Nepal are considered. The third part examines cases of children working in rural and urban settings, evidence of the importance of primary education for economic development, the relationship between school and work during childhood, and the different reasons why children may be unable to attend school. The final part of the book presents examples of how basic education for working children has been approached in several parts of the world. Suggestions for further reading and a resource section of relevant books, articles, and other materials that can be obtained from academic sources and international agencies is included. (AA)

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A COMPILATION OF KEY TEXTS ON CHILD WORK AND BASIC EDUCATION

edited by Judith Ennew

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READINGS
IN CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

Learning or Labouring?

A COMPILATION OF KEY TEXTS ON CHILD WORK AND BASIC EDUCATION

edited by Judith Ennew

unicef
United Nations Children's Fund
International Child Development Centtre
Florence- Italy

Editor: Judith Ennew

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Selection of materials for inclusion in this publication was undertaken by and remains the responsibility of the editor. Any views or positions expressed in such selection or in the extracts do not necessarily reflect those of UNICEF.

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PREFACE

In 1500, the largest library in the world, containing 400 volumes, was probably the papal library in Rome. In 1995, the US Library of Congress, with its collection of over 24 million volumes, is presumably the world's largest repository of the written word.

Indeed, these two major developments — writing and printing — have allowed knowledge to be stored, passed on and spread to increasingly large numbers of people. The last decade of the twentieth century is heralding in a third landmark in man's access to knowledge: electronic information networks which, many believe, will open up an 'on-line' world of learning possibilities within the next 20-25 years. With this information revolution, some claim, everyone will be able to receive the same amount of information wherever they are.

Yet, as we approach the third millennium, we face a paradoxical situation. In the North, the challenge posed is that of finding our way through massive information overloads. For many countries in the South, however, in this same final decade of the century, the problem is one of crucial information gaps. As Judith Ennew points out in her introduction to this volume, much of the literature on child-related subjects is largely inaccessible to people outside Europe and North America.

Bearing this information gap in mind, our Centre has introduced a new series of *Innocenti Readings in Children's Rights*. A library between two covers, if you like, the publications in this series aim to bring together in one handy volume essential readings that have become benchmarks in our understanding of a given subject.

The first in the series, which focuses on the critical relationship between child work and basic education, could not be more timely. UNICEF itself has taken the decision to adopt the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child as the framework for its programme of cooperation in over 130 countries, based on an in-depth analysis of the status of children's rights in each country. In a November 1994 statement to the Third Committee of the United

Nations General Assembly, UNICEF's Executive Director James. P. Grant, signalled child labour as one of the protection issues requiring far greater attention and more creative strategies on the part of governments, non-governmental organizations and international agencies, including UNICEF:

> UNICEF believes that it is imperative to do away with the most hazardous and exploitative forms of child labour, particularly bonded labour, while striving to improve the conditions of working children, including those working in 'hidden' occupations such as domestic servants. Although eradication of child labour will obviously not come overnight, we believe that it can and should be phased out progressively. The key elements to a solution to this complex problem can be found in free and compulsory primary schooling for all children; extending access to quality basic education and providing incentives to families to send their children to school; legislative reform and effective enforcement of child labour laws.

In pinpointing some priority concerns which need to be addressed in order to eliminate child labour, Jo Boyden, writing in a recent *Innocenti Occasional Paper* published by our Centre, draws attention to the role of legal compulsion in combating child labour. Research has shown that early European labour laws prohibiting the employment of children prior to completing compulsory education did produce positive effects on school attendance rates. However, it would be very difficult to transfer this experience to the vast and largely invisible informal economies of the developing world. Laws making education free and compulsory are probably easier to enforce and, in the opinion of some observers, may pave the way to wiping out child labour.

Boyden, however, goes on to point out that while work is widely thought to be the main cause of school drop-out, school itself can also be a cause of work. Many children must work to pay for their schooling. Others work because they are discouraged by the poor quality of formal schooling. Overcrowding, poor physical conditions, irrelevant curricula, gender discrimination, shortage of teachers or their negative attitudes can make work seem more appealing than school.

Efforts to get young children out of the workplace are therefore doomed to failure if they are not linked to creating viable and affordable educational opportunities. This point was reinforced by the UNICEF Deputy Executive Director Guido Bertolaso when testifying last year before the Labor Subcommittee of the United States Senate on the subject of child labour. He also underscored the deplorable fact that:

> ... in much of the world, poor children do not have access to any schooling, let alone to relevant, quality education. The

international community has adopted the goal of attaining universal primary education by the year 2000. This goal obviously cannot be reached unless exploitative child labor is eliminated. When basic education becomes accessible, relevant and free, parents will understand that the education of their children is the best investment in their future, and children themselves will also be motivated to get an education. Whether it is formal or non-formal, education needs to combine academic instruction with training in work skills, health and nutrition, as well as civic rights and responsibilities.

The very complexity of these issues means that neat causal relationships cannot always be established between child work and basic education. However, by bringing together key texts on the ideas, debates, evidence and case studies that have contributed to our understanding of these vitally important concerns, we hope to provide busy programme planners, project workers and students with both a practical working tool and an innovative information product. We are very much indebted to Judith Ennew for her excellent contribution to this undertaking.

James R. Himes
Director
UNICEF International Child Development Centre

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HOW TO USE THIS PUBLICATION

This compilation of key texts on child work and basic education has been organized thematically, and is divided into four main areas: ideas, debates, evidence and case studies.

The Table of Contents guides the reader through the themes covered. The texts are mainly extracts from books and journal articles, the titles of which are listed in full on page 151. An index of readings by author is found on page 150.

Finally, see page 143 for a list of resource organizations and page 148 for related readings of further interest.

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INTRODUCTION

Knowledge itself is power
Francis Bacon

Every programme or project for child welfare needs certain basic resources. The most important are people: first and foremost the children themselves and then the adults who will work with them. The second resource is neither money nor buildings and equipment, but knowledge. It is not enough for those of us who work with children to have good intentions, we also need to be able to base our plans and actions on information about what this particular group of children need and want, as well as on the experiences of others who have worked with similar groups of children in other places.

In order to decide on children's needs and wants there is no substitute for local firsthand research, but it is also essential to search through writings about why and how services and development projects have been implemented elsewhere. The problem is that, although there is no shortage of secondary information about other projects, access to it may be another matter. Although the work of the past two decades in particular means that we can now count on a considerable body of literature on child work, child labour and basic education, it is largely inaccessible for people living, working and researching outside Europe and North America. Much of the relevant material is published in academic journals that are not available in local libraries, or in books that are either out of print or distributed within a limited sphere. Although international bodies publish many relevant reports, these are not always distributed to the very people who could make the greatest use of the results — the majority of teachers in developing countries will not be aware of the excellent and useful publications available from UNESCO, for example. The result is an information gap of crucial importance for many people who would like to base programmes for working children on sound principles and practical knowledge but simply cannot obtain even the basic bibliographies they need, much less the books themselves.

This book of readings aims to help to bridge this gap by providing a resource that is envisaged as a library between two covers, giving the essential information needed to begin planning a project in the area of child labour and basic education. It should be useful for senior programme planners, project workers and researchers.

By bringing together these readings from essential works of reference on child labour and basic education, I hope that I am providing a resource that will reduce the time that busy project leaders need to spend on prior research and a text that can be referred to for different purposes during the project's ongoing activities. The structure, which divides readings into four main areas covering ideas, debates, evidence and case studies, aims to give readers a working tool rather than a shelf-based archive. Within each area, specific sections are preceded by a brief introduction to guide users through some of the issues that are often taken for granted by specialist writers.

Also included are suggestions for further reading and a resource section that should simplify the process of obtaining other relevant books, articles and other materials from academic sources and international agencies. This was prepared by Aubrey Maasdorp, to whom I must express my gratitude not only for being a most efficient research assistant but also for his exceptional capacity for working with someone whose normal modes of communication are faxes from far corners of the world and phone calls from airports. Thanks are also due to UNESCO for the principle by which so many sources are made available for republication, and to colleagues in the International Labour Organisation, who have so often been generous with their time to discuss children's issues, particularly Michel Bonnet, Alec Fyfe, Susan Gunn and Bill Myers. Debates with other colleagues over the years have influenced the form taken by this book. Jo Boyden, Fabio Dallape, Clare Hanbury, Leah Levin, Ginny Morrow and Jill Swart must be singled out here, although they are not in any way responsible for any errors in the outcome. I am particularly grateful to Jim Himes and Patricia Light of UNICEF's International Child Development Centre for sharing my concern about the information needs of project planners and for encouraging me to turn a long-cherished dream into reality.

Judith Ennew

Part 1. IDEAS

In the twentieth century a particular notion of childhood has become current in international welfare and development programmes. It is based on the ideal childhood of children in wealthier families, particularly in Europe and North America. In this ideal, the principal social institutions for children are the family and the school. Children are excluded from the adult world of work and protected from exploitation. This means that the very idea of childhood used by programme planners usually depends on particular definitions of education and work as opposing activities.

In reality, of course, many children do work and either cannot go to school or are unable to succeed in education. In this denial of the potential of millions of the next generation of men and women, work and education are also involved in defining childhood — in a tragic reversal of the ideal.

Thus the definitions of childhood, work, exploitation and education are not as obvious as they seem and sometimes the debates on these issues can make it difficult to be clear about programme objectives and target groups. This section presents some of the more important attempts to grapple with problems of definition.

IDEAS

Children and Childhood

When Philippe Aries claimed in Centuries of Childhood *that childhood was a modern invention, he started a major debate among historians and sociologists. But he also pointed to a new way of thinking about children that is important for modern programme planning: it is only recently that children have been regarded as a problem group that needs its own professionals, such as paediatricians, child psychologists and institutions like child guidance clinics. Children are now the main focus of family life, Aries says, whereas they used to be simply part of the family workforce. As the readings by Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Viviana Zelizer show, the value of children has shifted from their importance as an asset in the family economy to a sentimental perception of children as an emotional benefit to their parents, even though they are costly in financial terms.*

Although this new concept of childhood is more typical of wealthy, Northern societies, it has effects on the way in which children in developing countries are viewed by development agencies. Patricia Holland shows how the idea that children in the South lack a childhood produces a tendency to see them as helpless victims, while Jo Boyden argues that this image is central to policy interventions in private life.

1. *The History of Childhood in Europe*

Philippe Aries

Centuries of Childhood. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962 (395-7).

In the Middle Ages, at the beginning of modern times, and for a long time after that in the lower classes, children were mixed with adults as soon as they were considered capable of doing without their mothers or nannies, not long after a tardy weaning (in other words, at about the age of seven). They immediately went straight into the great community of men, sharing in the work and play of their companions, old and young alike. The movement of collective life carried along in a single torrent all ages and classes, leaving nobody any time for solitude and privacy. In these crowded, collective existences there was no room for a private sector. The family fulfilled a function; it ensured the transmission of life, property and names; but it did not penetrate very far into human sensibility. Myths such as courtly and precious love denigrated marriage, while realities such as the apprenticeship of children loosened the emotional bond between parents and children. Medieval civilization had forgotten the *paideia* of the ancients and knew nothing as yet of modern education. That is the main point: it had no idea of education. Nowadays our society depends, and knows that it depends, on the success of its educational system. It has a system of education, a concept of education, an awareness of its importance. New sciences such as psycho-analysis, pediatrics and psychology devote themselves to the problems of childhood, and their findings are transmitted to parents by way of a mass of popular literature. Our world is obsessed by the physical, moral and sexual problems of childhood.

This preoccupation was unknown to medieval civilization, because there was no problem for the Middle Ages: as soon as he had been weaned, or soon after, the child became the natural companion of the adult. The age groups of Neolithic times, the Hellenistic *paideia*, pre-supposed a difference and a transition between the world of children and that of adults, a transition made by means of an initiation or an education. Medieval civilization failed to perceive this difference and therefore lacked this concept of transition.

The great event was therefore the revival, at the beginning of modern times, of an interest in education. This affected a certain number of churchmen, lawyers and scholars, few in number in the fifteenth century, but increasingly numerous and influential in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when they merged with the advocates of religious reform. For they were primarily moralists rather than humanists: the humanists remained attached to the idea of a general culture spread over the whole of life and showed scant interest in an education confined to children. These reformers, these moralists, whose influence on school and family we have observed in this study, fought passionately against the anarchy (or what henceforth struck them as the anarchy) of medieval society, where the Church, despite its repugnance, had long ago resigned itself to it and urged the faithful to seek salvation far from this pagan world, in some monastic retreat. A positive moralization of society was taking place: the moral aspect of religion was gradually triumphing in practice over the sacred or eschatological aspect. This was how these champions of moral order were led to recognize the importance of education. We have noted their influence on the history of the school, and the transformation of the free school into the strictly disciplined college. Their writings extended from Gerson to Port-Royal, becoming increasingly frequent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The religious orders founded at that time, such as the Jesuits or the Oratorians, became teaching orders, and their teaching was no longer addressed to adults like that of the preachers or mendicants of the Middle Ages, but was essentially meant for children and young people. This literature, this propaganda, taught parents that they were spiritual guardians, that they were responsible before God for the souls, and indeed the bodies too, of their children.

Henceforth it was recognized that the child was not ready for life, and that he had to be subjected to a special treatment, a sort of quarantine, before he was allowed to join the adults.

This new concern about education would gradually install itself in the heart of society and transform it from top to bottom. The family ceased to be simply an institution for the transmission of a name and an estate — it assumed a moral and spiritual function, it moulded bodies and souls. The care expended on children inspired new feelings, a new emotional attitude, to which the iconography of the seventeenth century gave brilliant and insistent expression: the modern concept of the family. Parents were no longer content with setting up only a few of their children and neglecting the others. The ethics of the time ordered them to give all their children, and not just the eldest — and in the late seventeenth century even the girls — a training for life. It was understood that this training would be provided by the school. Traditional apprenticeship was replaced by the school, an utterly transformed school, an instrument of strict discipline, protected by the law-courts and the police-courts.

The extraordinary development of the school in the seventeenth century was a consequence of the new interest taken by parents in their children's education. The moralists taught them that it was their duty to send their children to school very early in life: 'Those parents,' states a text of 1602, 'who take an interest in their children's education *(liberos erudiendos)* are more worthy of respect than those who just bring them into the world. They give them not only life but a good and holy life. That is why those parents are right to send their children at the tenderest age to the market of true wisdom (in other words to college) where they will become the architects of their own fortune, the ornaments of their native land, their family and their friends.'[1]

Family and school together removed the child from adult society. The school shut up a childhood which had hitherto been free within an increasingly severe disciplinary system, which culminated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the total claustration of the boarding-school. The solicitude of family, Church, moralists and administrators deprived the child of the freedom he had hitherto enjoyed among adults. It inflicted on him the birch, the prison cell — in a word, the punishments usually reserved for convicts from the lowest strata of society.

But this severity was the expression of a very different feeling from the old indifference: an obsessive love which was to dominate society from the eighteenth century on.

---

[1] *Academia Sive Speculum Vitae Scholasticae*, Arnheim, 1602.

2. *The Value of Children*

Nancy Scheper-Hughes

"Introduction", in Scheper-Hughes, N., (ed.), *Child Survival: Anthropological Perspectives on the Treatment and Maltreatment of Children*. Dordrecht, Boston, Lancaster, Tokyo: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1987 (11-12).

Under the "old" fertility pattern, characterized by high fertility and brief birth intervals, the cultural representations of the infant and small child may reflect the ubiquitousness of childhood mortality and allow parents a certain emotional distance that is psychologically protective. First among these may be a failure to "anthropomorphize" the infant. The neonate (like the fetus in our abortion-tolerant society) and the infant may be viewed, for example, as not-yet-human creatures on a par with domesticated household pets. The infant's claim to humanity must be proven over time, to some extent by the demonstration of its "wits" to survive. Deformed or physically stigmatized infants may be rejected as malevolent "witch-babies" or as changelings. In rural Ireland up through the 19th century, deformed, sickly or wasted infants were sometimes killed in the open fireplace or left exposed as "fairy children". Alternatively, frail and sickly infants may be viewed as little angels, trailing clouds of glory and anxious to return to their heavenly home, as is believed in parts of rural Mexico. Such folk beliefs allow parents to conform to situations in which they, in fact, have little control over child mortality. But they also enable parents to decide which among their babies are ill suited for survival, and they undoubtedly contribute to child death in some cases, as several chapters in this volume indicate.

By contrast, the "new" fertility pattern characteristic of modern, industrialized societies is accompanied by a different reproductive strategy: to produce few offspring and to value and invest heavily in each. This strategy is only possible once both childhood mortality and human fertility have been somewhat domesticated and controlled. What is maximized in this demographic context is not fertility but parental investment. What parents require of their children has also changed in the modern demographic context. In most traditional, pre-demographic transition societies children are expected to contribute to the economic subsistence of the household. Their value and status within the family are *achieved*, instrumentally-based, and usually increase with age. In the modern, industrialized world the instrumental value of children has been largely replaced by their expressive value. Children have become relatively worthless (economically) to their parents, but priceless in terms of their psychological worth: the pleasure and satisfaction they bring. This transformation carries with it risks as well as benefits to the child. The relatively strong modern ideology that *all* children are wanted and that all births should be intentional (given the accessibility of both contraception and abortion) means that children who are "birth control failures" or are otherwise unwanted or inconvenient may be subjected to years of psychological rejection and physical abuse by rejecting parents. By contrast, in traditional societies where individuals have been socialized to believe that fertility is in the hands of God or of fate, this kind of frustration and rage directed at excess or supernumerary children is rare and may account for the relative absence of sadistic and idiosyncratic abuse and battering of children in these societies as compared with modern, industrialized and secular societies.

The contemporary representation of children as an economic liability and burden is also an unfortunate by-product of the child's loss of productive roles in post-industrial societies. The dominant media images of children in the United States as dependent, frivolous, and voracious consumers may contribute both to parental pride in their children and their material possessions as a new form of conspicuous consumption, but may also contribute to parental rage and resentment of their "worthless", "lazy", and "greedy" children. This, in turn, may be expressed in the current "epidemic" of child abuse in North America.

3. *The Priceless Child*

Viviana A. Zelizer

Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children. New York: Basic Books, 1985 (11).

The expulsion of children from the "cash nexus" at the turn of the past century, although clearly shaped by profound changes in the economic, occupational, and family structures, was also part of a cultural process of "sacralization" of children's lives. The term sacralization is used in the sense of objects being invested with sentimental or religious meaning. While in the nineteenth century, the market value of children was culturally acceptable, later the new normative ideal of the child as an exclusively emotional and affective asset precluded instrumental or fiscal considerations. In an increasingly commercialized world, children were reserved a separate noncommercial place, *extra-commercium*. The economic and sentimental value of children were thereby declared to be radically incompatible. Only mercenary or insensitive parents violated the boundary by accepting the wages or labor contributions of a useful child. Properly loved children, regardless of social class, belonged in a domesticated, nonproductive world of lessons, games, and token money.

4. *Save the Children*

Patricia Holland

What is a Child? London: Virago Press, 1992 (148, 159, 161).

Without the image of the unhappy child, our contemporary concept of childhood would be incomplete. Real children suffer in many different ways and for many different reasons, but pictures of sorrowing children recall those defining characteristics of childhood: dependence and powerlessness.

Children living in poverty, children suffering from neglect or disadvantage, children who are the victims of wars or natural disasters — they figure in imagery as the most vulnerable, the most pathetic, the most deserving of all of our sympathy and aid. They are on the receiving end of an oppression in which they can only acquiesce. Children are seen as archetypal victims; childhood is seen as weakness itself. As the children in the image reveal their vulnerability, we long to protect them and provide for their needs. Paradoxically, while we are moved by the image of a sorrowful child, we also welcome it, for it can arouse pleasurable emotions of tenderness, which in themselves confirm adult power...

An iconography of rescue forms an important part of the imagery of childhood, as we see pictures being brought out of earthquakes, fires and the rubble of war, or simply being found when lost. In Third World imagery, the role of the rescuer tends to be played by supportive white representatives of technologised civilisation — doctors, nurses, aid workers...

The child who appeals to the viewer, humbly requesting help, has remained the mainstay of aid imagery. But children's actual response to conditions of deprivation may well refuse qualities of childhood which give them their pathos. It is less easy to deal with the image of children who have become fighters, workers or brutalised dwellers on the streets. In 1990 the United Nations estimated that 200,000 children under fifteen are bearing arms around the world, most of them in rebel armies. The image of a child with a gun has carried the ambivalent meanings of resistance to oppression by children fighting alongside their elders, as well as the exploitation and corruption of children by those elders. It moves from the extreme of the violent child out of control to that of the disciplined young person playing their part in an organised force.

Although the practice is common in many parts of the world, pictures of children at work under conditions of forced labour and with minimal wages have rarely found a place in available imagery — despite the efforts of organisations like the Anti-Slavery Society to expose such scandals as the carpet industry in India. By contrast, the image of the street urchin has an uneasy presence within travel imagery. The packaging of the people of other nations for the Western tourist has long included an element of sexual tourism. Tour guides have sections on red-light districts, and certain parts of the world — for example, Sri Lanka and Thailand — are known to be places where child prostitutes operate. The engaging impudence of the street-urchin image carries overtones of both sexuality and children's contribution to the tourist economy of those states. But it needs only a slight shift of perspective to see the child on the streets as an undesirable vagrant.

5. *Childhood and the Policymakers*

Jo Boyden

"Childhood and the Policymakers: A Comparative Perspective on the Globalization of Childhood", in James, A., and Prout, A., (eds), *Constructing and Deconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood.* Basingstoke: The Falmer Press, 1990 (191-2).

As the twentieth century has progressed, then, highly selective, stereotyped perceptions of childhood — of the innocent child victim on the one hand and the young deviant on the other — have been exported from the industrial world to the South. They have provided a focal point for the development of both human rights legislation at the international level and social policy at the national level in a wide range of countries. It has been the explicit goal of children's rights specialists to crystallize in international law a universal system of rights for the child based on these norms of childhood. The present United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child comes closer to this goal than any previous international instrument. At the national level, child welfare has been a major pretext for state manipulation of the affairs of family and community.

One of the main links between international rights legislation and traditional child welfare thinking is that both have been deeply influenced by the ideologies of the social work and legal professions. This influence is extremely significant for the development of a global standard of childhood because both tend to play down the impact of wider social, economic, political and cultural conditions in the shaping of social phenomena and therefore to advocate individual, remedial solutions to social problems. Priority is given to individual causation, highlighting individual dysfunctioning or pathology, and rehabilitative strategies based on individual case history are used in the 'cure' of social problems.

Children's Work

There is a romantic story about child labour and its eradication in the nineteenth century, which is tied up with chimney sweeps and Oliver Twist and as much part of folk history as King Alfred's burnt cakes. Now the apparent absence of child labour in the North is contrasted with sweated labour in 'Dickensian' conditions in the South. This helps to perpetuate a public view of developing countries as 'backward'.

In fact, child labour has not been eradicated in the North and children were banned from the formal workforce less by concern for their welfare than by new technology and the demands of industrial capital for skilled labour. Children are more useful in school, learning how to be modern workers.

When children became less important as economic actors they began to have a new role in society. As they were banned from the workforce, so they were also relieved of responsibility. Although children in most times and places have worked and taken an active part in society as a whole, they are now limited in public policies to playing in the family and working for no pay at school. If they are involved in economic activities, these are largely invisible and, paradoxically, because children are unable to find employment in the formal workforce they may be forced to find work under worse conditions in the informal sector.

The first three readings in this section look at the definitional problems associated with child work. Sandra Wallman shows that work should be considered holistically, as a human activity, rather than simply defined by waged employment. Ray Bromley discusses the urban informal sector, in which so many children are exploited. Diane Elson explains the particular situation of children in the labour market.

A major problem for conceptualizing children's work has been how to distinguish work that is a necessary aspect of socialization from work that is harmful for development. Olga Nieuwenhuys and Alec Fyfe offer theoretical approaches to the problem, while a reading from the International Labour Organisation's annual report for 1992 provides a practical way out of the dilemma, although this does not give any precise guidelines about which types of work should be regarded as 'too hard' for example. Reminscent of the holistic approach advocated by Wallman, the typology of children's economic activities provided by Gerry Rogers and Guy Standing in the early 1980s has never been bettered for a clear and unemotional approach to the topic.

A subset of child workers that received much attention in the 1980s is the group known as 'street children'. Among many attempts at definition, the UNICEF distinction between children 'on' the street and children 'of' the street has been most widely adopted. It is not without its critics, however, and Benno Glauser shows the difficulties of application from his experience in Paraguay, while the historical work of Hugh Cunningham illustrates the way in which contrasting images of street children can serve various policy purposes.

CHILDREN IN THE LABOUR MARKET

6. *What is Work?*

Sandra Wallman

"Introduction", in Wallman, S., (ed.), *Social Anthropology of Work*. London: Academic Press, 1979 (4).

Work is the application of human energy to things; which application converts, maintains, or adds value to the worker, the thing worked on, and the system in which the work is performed. This physical definition can deal with the work of economic sectors and occupational groups as much as with individual workers. It could even be made to take in the work of managers, brokers, intermediaries, artists, ritual specialists — all of those whose work cannot be measured by its material product or "use value" ... In physiological terms, each is expending energy and is therefore altered by the work effort; even psychic energy burns calories ... And if "the thing worked on" can be read to include non-material resources (institutions, symbols, information), then all systems of work are energy systems. As a base line, this must be correct. But work can never be understood as a mechanical function of energy expenditure: human work is energy directed to more or less explicit goals.

7. *The Urban Informal Sector*

Ray Bromley

"Introduction — The Urban Informal Sector: Why is it Worth Discussing?", *World Development*, 1978 (1033-9).

In recent years, many analysts of urban employment in the Third World have adopted a 'two-sector' terminology and mode of analysis. This approach was initiated by divisions of economic activities and employment into 'traditional' and 'modern' sectors, viewing traditional activities as those which existed before, and continue in the face of, western capitalist penetration, and viewing modern activities as those which result directly from foreign influence and investment, the application of advanced technologies, and the advent of sophisticated professional and governmental activities. A wide range of alternative names have been given to the 'traditional' and 'modern' sectors, but the two-sector approach has become the theoretical basis for an extensive literature and has become almost institutionalized in liberal and neo-classical analyses of Third World economies. Dualist thinking received an additional boost in the early 1970s, with the presentation of Hart's influential paper on urban employment in Ghana, introducing a new two-sector terminology, dividing the economy into 'informal' (an extension of the concept of 'traditional') and 'formal' (more-or-less analogous to 'modern') sectors and emphasising the significance of self-employment and small enterprises and the degree of statistical under-recording in the informal sector. The formal/informal dualism was reified in the International labour Office's World Employment Programme report on Kenya, and has been a central organizing concept in over a hundred subsequent publications, many of them associated with the International Labour Office. In their crudest form, the distinctions between the informal and formal sectors are presented in the Kenya report as follows:

- Informal activities are a way of doing things, characterized by –
  - (a) ease of entry;
  - (b) reliance on indigenous resources;
  - (c) family ownership of enterprises;
  - (d) small scale of operation;
  - (e) labour-intensive and adapted technology;
  - (f) skills acquired outside the formal school system and
  - (g) unregulated and competitive markets.

Informal sector activities are largely ignored, rarely supported, often regulated and sometimes actively discouraged by the Government.

- The characteristics of formal sector activities are the obverse of these, namely –
  - (a) difficult entry;
  - (b) frequent reliance on overseas resources;
  - (c) corporate ownership;
  - (d) large scale of operation;
  - (e) capital-intensive and often imported technology;
  - (f) formally acquired skills, often expatriate; and
  - (g) protected markets (through tariffs, quotas and trade licenses)...

There is a curious tendency to view the informal sector as exclusively urban, and to use alternative terms such as 'the rural traditional sector' to describe analogous activities outside the towns and cities. Although it is reasonable to write specifically about the informal sector in urban areas (as in this theme issue), it is surely not possible to deny the existence of similar enterprises (artisans, petty traders, peasant farmers etc.) and situations in rural areas. The 'rural informal sector' should logically receive at least as much attention as the 'urban informal sector', and the general term 'informal sector' should logically include primary production when it fits the descriptive criteria which describe the sector...

There is a tendency to consider 'the urban informal sector' and 'the urban poor' to be synonymous. By any reasonable definition, not all persons who work in the informal sector are poor, and not all poor people work in the informal sector. Some advocates of the formal/informal dualism seem to have become over-convinced of the 'aristocracy of labour' view of the formal sector, in which virtually all wage workers, or at least those in enterprises with over 5-10 workers, are thought to have stable jobs, good salaries and ample social security provision. This view is, of course, absurd, as many wage workers receive low incomes and have little or no job security. Most of the workers in such activities as construction, domestic service, seasonal agricultural harvesting and processing, cleaning and security (night-watchmen etc.) have all been conveniently forgotten. In most countries, there are substantial numbers of low-paid formal sector workers with little or no job security and there are even a substantial number who work in the formal sector simply to build up the capital to start an informal sector enterprise.

8. *Children in the Labour Market*

Diane Elson

"The Differentiation of Children's Labour in the Capitalist Labour Market", *Development and Change*, 13(4) (490-2).

The differentiation of children in the capitalist labour market cannot be derived from the process of capital accumulation alone. The kind of exploitation to which children are vulnerable cannot be understood solely in terms of concepts like the appropriation of surplus. Nor can the question of what policies are likely to be appropriate and effective be judged only in the context of the relation between the state and the process of capital accumulation. The functions of the state are not only 'to further accumulation and to achieve and maintain legitimation of the class structure'.[1] Other aspects of the power structure besides class are also the concern of the state. Feminists have highlighted the state's concern with maintaining the power of men as a gender.[2] The state also maintains and legitimizes the power of adults, those who have attained the age of majority, over children, those who remain minors.[3]

It is tempting to think that the answer is to supplement an analysis of capital accumulation with an analysis of the authority of adults over children within the family; and tempting to categorize adult authority in terms of patriarchy. For 'patriarchy' refers literally to the powers of the fathers, and it might be argued that the power of mothers is subaltern power, derived and reliant upon the power of fathers. If we identify structures of authority within the family as the only source of subordination, however, we are unable to deal with children who are not in families, though they may be in some other kind of household. We need to be able to analyze the case of orphans and runaways; and the case of children who choose themselves to enter the capitalist labour market, rather than being forced to do so by parents or guardians. Authority of adults over children within the family needs to be conceptualized as one form of subordination, among others, not as the unique source. This authority itself needs analysis; rather than simply posing it as an explanation, we need to understand how it works, the conditions that tend to reproduce it, the tensions that tend to undermine it.

I would like to suggest that we could usefully explore a conceptual schema that parallels that being developed in feminist economics, to try to avoid the above-mentioned problems. Instead of the concept of subordination through parental authority, we might use a concept of the social construction of an age hierarchy; of a system of seniority in which those in junior positions are unable to achieve full social status in their own right. They are not full members of the society, so that the question of seniority for those who do not have it is never absent. (Just as for women the question of gender is never absent.[4]) This implies that the lack of personal relations to those with seniority would be as important as their presence. Indeed, such a lack would be likely to make the person even worse off in some respects, since such personal relations can offer protection as well as oppression. Orphans tend to be at a greater economic disadvantage than children with parents; children in female headed households than in male headed households. This last point illustrates the intertwining of hierarchies of seniority and gender. Typically, women tend to be in a different position in the seniority system than men, occupying with respect to men, a place much more like that of children.

This concept of subordination through lack of seniority does not imply any lack of personal capacity for autonomous behaviour. What it does imply is lack of the public means for recognition of the right to autonomy; and the lack of public means to sustain and extend autonomy. The existence of the personal capacity for autonomous behaviour together with the lack of public right to it creates a continual tension, resolved now in terms of acquiescence, and malleability, now in terms of resistance and overt rebellion. The difficulties often experienced by school teachers in controlling children suggest there is nothing innate about any submissiveness children employed in capitalist enterprises may display. Submissiveness has to be produced by sanctions. We need to investigate what those sanctions are, how they differ between different countries or cultures, and how they change over time.

This approach does not imply that there are no differences between age groups which are not socially constructed, any more than feminist economics implies that there are no differences between the sexes that are not socially constructed. However, as a recent discussion of the political status of children points out,

> ... it is unlikely that the 'facts of human development', in so far as they are ascertainable, will support a rigid 'age of majority' division between adults and children.[5]

Many children have greater capacites than many adults. Of course, very young children require others to look after them, as do very old people or sick people. There is nothing about this fact in itself that necessitates social subordination and lack of independent rights. Harriss argues that many children are quite capable of exercising such rights by the age of ten. Small children are not capable of exercising their rights individually, but this does not mean that they cannot possess rights, rather that these rights can only be given substance through collective, rather than individual action.

The position of children in the capitalist labour market can be interpreted in terms of the way in which economic relations, though in themselves not ascriptive of seniority, are bearers of seniority. It is not the case that the logic of capital accumulation first defines jobs and wage rates for those jobs, and then employers find that children are most suited to some of these jobs. Jobs are designed with the seniority system in mind; wage systems are designed with the seniority system in mind. The seniority system obviously encompasses a range of gradations, not simply the division between children and adults, but children are at the bottom of it. And this means it is extremely difficult for them to secure full recognition in monetary terms for the skills they possess and for the contribution they make to family income. Only when they have passed over to adult status can they be recognized as 'skilled' and 'breadwinners' — or rather, only when the boys have passed over to adult status, for the girls the problem remains.

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[1] Standing, G., "State Policy and Child Labour: Accumulation Versus Legitimation?", in *Development and Change*, 13(4), 611-632.

[2] Sex and Class Study Group, "Sex and Class", *Capital and Class*, 16, 1982.

[3] Harriss, J., "The Political Status of Children", in Graham, K. (ed.), *Contemporary Political Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

[4] Whitehead, A., "Some Preliminary Notes on the Subordination of Women", *IDS Bulletin*, 10 (3).

[5] Harriss, *op. cit.* 3.

CHILD WORK AND CHILD LABOUR

9. *Deconstructing and Reconstructing Children's Work*

Olga Nieuwenhuys

Children's Lifeworlds: Gender, Welfare and Labour in the Developing World. London: Routledge, 1994.

The notion of child labour is inadequate to analyse much of the work performed by children in peasant societies. The notion works from the ingrained assumption of an immature specimen of the human race being exposed to a certain type of undesirable activity. The difficulty lies essentially in the fact that, at the empirical level, not only activities undertaken by children vary from one society and from one time to another and also according to class, gender and age group, but their valuation as well... Research on children's work in peasant societies has seriously suffered from the use of a priori judgements about which activities are suitable for children and which are not. These judgements have been made on the basis of moral considerations which can be traced to the ideals of socialization introduced by colonial powers in the former colonies and which were reflected in their own child labour legislation. As long as activities undertaken by children did not appear to clash with these ideals they have, by and large, not been felt as unsuitable or even conceived as work at all. The ideals of parenthood shared by social researchers and the children's kin, have also contributed to constructing a notion of child labour in the Third World that discards as suitable those activities that, if called real work, would contradict the image of the loving parent. An article by an Indian economist with the telling title: "Child labour: do parents count it as an economic asset?" leaves, for instance, no doubt about the perspective adopted by the author.[1] It comes as no surprise that his adult respondents share with him the belief that what children do for most of the time is indeed not work in the economic sense. As noted by Folbre, parents in the Third World, in spite of their wielding considerable power over their children, are often not satisfied with the level of economic assistance their children provide.[2]

This cognitive aspect of work reflects the undeniable problem of the value of the everyday activities performed by children in the setting of the rural household. One may distinguish three categories of work:

(a) activities that extract resources from the physical and social environment;
(b) activities concerning the 'unpaid' allocation, preparation and distribution of these resources;
(c) activities that concern the care of human beings.

Though a number of these activities are directed to the production of socially-valued goods and services, many are not recognized as such. This is particularly the case with the activities that fall in the last two categories, that are both considered, in common parlance as well as in economic theory, something else than work and often dismissed and ignored, particularly when performed in the context of the household. The reason may be traced to the fact that this type of work is less organized and planned, that it is only indirectly connected with an economically-valued 'product' and, finally, that it is often so mundane, to appear to just naturally happen in the course of everyday life. Not conceptualizing these activities as work in anthropological theory would, however, produce a distorted view of the social context of work, and in particular of how widely-valued institutions came about and are reproduced.[3] To highlight their importance it is sufficient to point at the fact that, when falling within the market, these activities are, as a matter of fact, valued as 'real' work. For instance, when children are not available for child minding, doing the housekeeping, running errands, etc. other services would have to be bought and domestic help would have to be hired. It is clear, then, that the household-based work of children, though difficult to value exactly, represents in itself an important asset.[4]

In peasant societies, moreover, the distinction between productive work and work that is concerned with distribution or the care of human beings, may not be as sharp as suggested by the market approach to work. The work undertaken by children in the household context can indeed acquire an economic value in the interaction between households and the larger society. There is therefore a great deal of overlap between the allocation of work within the family and the needs of the economy. Parents are obviously not autonomous in deciding which activities are desirable for their children, the sets of options from which poor parents can make choices in the allocation of work being limited. It is well known that employers are often able to solicit labour from children by employing the whole family and pay them less than when they are adults. This is common practice with agricultural labourers who are contracted with their families for harvesting work or with small domestic industries where the piece-rate system is the norm.[5] When small peasants, as argued by Mamdani,[6] have to sell the produce of their land at depressed prices, it is again children's labour that is insidiously drained off to the market. This may not be a big issue in an industrialized country where the share of this type of work is comparatively modest, but in Third World countries, with overwhelmingly agrarian populations depending on the production and sale of raw materials, it is. Incomes are, moreover, at such a low level that the survival of the Third World peasant is made possible by a considerable amount of unpaid domestic work, undertaken in view of servicing household members who are engaged in productive work on the one hand, and on the other, of raising children, who constitute the next generation of workers.

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[1] Dandekar, K., "Child Labour: Do Parents Count as an Economic Asset?" in Srinivasan, S. and Kanikkar, T. (eds), *Demographic and Socio-economic Aspects of the Child in India*. Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House, 1979.

[2] Folbre, N., "Hearts and Spades: Paradigms of Household Economics", *World Development*, 1986, 14(2), 245-55.

[3] Wadel, C. "The Hidden Work of Everyday Life", in Wallman, S. (ed.), *Social Anthropology of Work*. London: Academic Press, 1979, 365-384.

[4] Schildkrout, E., "The Employment of Children in Kano (Nigeria)", in Rogers, G. and Standing, G. (eds), *Child Work, Poverty and Underdevelopment*. Geneva: ILO, 1981, 81-112.

[5] Breman, J., *Of Peasants, Migrants and Paupers*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985.

[6] Mamdani, M., "The Ideology of Population Control", *Concerned Demography*, 4, 1974, 13-22.

10. *Child Labour*

Alec Fyfe

Child Labour. Oxford: Polity Press, 1989 (3-5).

In going beyond the measurement of child work to an analysis of causes and consequences it is customary to begin with those definitional conundrums: *what is a child? what is work? what is exploitation?* It is these fundamental imprecisions that are often thought to deflect attention from what is objectively a serious and a growing problem. In jumping through these traditional hoops I take the view ... that we need to make a basic distinction between 'child work' and 'child labour'. These concepts are usually used interchangeably in the literature. This has led to much confusion and a failure to focus and mobilize significant attention on the real priorities within the field. Clearly, not all work is bad for children. This view commands almost universal agreement. There is little doubt that many children welcome the opportunity to work, seeing it in the rite of passage to adulthood. Work can be a gradual initiation into adulthood and a positive element in a child's development. Light work, properly structured and phased, is not child labour. Work which does not detract from the other essential activities for children, namely leisure, play and education, is not child labour. Child labour is work which impairs the health and development of children. There should be little argument about what constitutes the super-exploitation of children through work. Priority ought to go to the targeting and rooting out of child prostitution, child pornography, bonded and tied labour, and work in hazardous occupations, including military service. But exploitation is not a concept that can be given a precise objective meaning. We can identify the extremes — children working in slave-like conditions in factories and mines, using dangerous chemicals in pesticide-soaked fields, imprisoned in homes as domestic servants, working as prostitutes, or in guerilla armies. At the margins, though, there will always be a subjective facet; exploitation will lie in the eye of the beholder.

Children work because their work has important social and economic functions. Both factors are interrelated in the causal chain which determines the level of demand for children's work, its supply, and the form that work takes. In terms of economic factors, two determinants can be identified: first, the nature of the production process, and second, the structure of the labour market. In pre-capitalist simple societies exploitative relationships can be identified both within the independent peasant family system, and in lineage modes of production where groups receive surplus production out of social obligation. Forms of debt bondage, fostering and adoption may all reflect 'feudal' relationships in which children are viewed as producers. Within this system of work sharing and steady integration into adult tasks and obligations, schooling has little value.

The transition to industrial capitalism has been associated in the industrialized countries with a long-term decline in child employment. Nevertheless, during the early part of the industrial revolution in Britain children were used more intensively. Whole families were hired for a 'family wage' based upon the calculation of output from all its members. In most developing countries today children are not found in large firms, but work in small manufacturing enterprises as cheap 'sweated' labour, often not-for a direct wage but for a 'supplementary' wage which goes to the parent worker. Technical innovation in the urban sector, which has no place for children, often forces children into street trades turning child labour into casual labour. Rural to urban migration, itself a common feature of the transition to capitalism, means in some cases that it is the women and children who are left to perform more intensively the domestic and income earning agricultural work. The move to a capitalist mode of production also radically changes the labour market, typically in the direction of greater fragmentation. The use of child workers fits well into such a system. Unorganized, with few dependents, no rights, a need for income, and vulnerable by their very nature, children are the most readily exploited of all labour groups. Their low cost gives to the employer a potential competitive advantage, both in the domestic and export market. The growth of the wage labour market greatly increases the significance of schooling. But the access to schooling is itself differentiated, with poor families constrained by the direct and indirect costs of education. Poor children face a permanent disadvantage in the labour market. The drift to urban areas in the early stages of industrialization is usually associated with high unemployment which forces many families and their children to eke out a living in marginal, casual forms of employment.

11. *From Work to Exploitation*

International Labour Office (ILO)

World Labour Report 1992. Geneva: ILO (14).

Most children work. After the age of six or seven they may help around the home, running errands, or spending time helping their parents on the family farm. This can make a healthy contribution to their development; in rural areas in particular such work can prepare children for the tasks of adulthood and help pass traditionally acquired skills from one generation to the next. Children learn to take responsibility and pride in their own activities. Even in the wealthiest countries, children are encouraged to work for a few hours a week.

"Child labour" implies something different — that young people are being exploited, or overworked, or deprived of their rights to health or education or just to childhood...

From Work to Exploitation: Some Characteristics of Child Labour

- Working too young — children in developing countries often start factory work at the age of six or seven.
- Working long hours — in some cases 12 to 16 hours a day.
- Working under strain — physical, social or psychological, in mines for example, or sweatshops.
- Working on the streets — or in unhealthy and dangerous conditions.
- For very little pay — as little as $3 for a 60 hour week.
- With little stimulation — dull or repetitive tasks, which stunt the child's social and psychological development.
- Taking too much responsibility — children often have charge of siblings only a year younger than themselves.
- Subject to intimidation — which inhibits self-confidence and self-esteem, as with slave labour and sexual exploitation.

12. *The Economic Activities of Children*

Gerry Rodgers and Guy Standing

"The Economic Activities of Children: Issues for Analysis", in Rogers, G., and Standing, G., (eds), *Child Work, Poverty and Underdevelopment.* Geneva: ILO, 1981.

To analyse the determinants of children's activity patterns and to explore their implications, it is necessary to devise an appropriate typology of child activities. The lack of such a conceptualisation has greatly contributed to the dearth of information on the economic roles of children. However, the desirable typology depends on the analytical focus of the research... [Here] we are primarily concerned with interactions between child roles and production structures, the extent and nature of inequality and exploitation, and patterns of household or individual behaviour. The main purpose is to assess the implications of these relationships for personal and social development and welfare... [I]t is essential to start by considering the range and nature of child activities.

The major analytical problem in devising a valid typology is that the desirable categories depend crucially on the nature of the social system and prevailing mode of production. That means that certain concepts are irrelevant or inadequate in some environments but essential in others. In particular, the conventional labour force approach by which sharp distinctions are drawn between "economic" and "non-economic" activities is even more unsatisfactory for the analysis of child activity patterns than it is for the analysis of those of adults. Not only is the distinction between "economic" and "non-economic" activity hard to apply in many environments, but it also aggregates analytically separate categories of activity, while frequently distinguishing between activities which have similar social functions. Moreover, such simple distinctions are liable to be misleading guides to actual behaviour when many people are engaged in multiple activity patterns.

The typology suggested in the following paragraphs attempts to distinguish the analytically most important categories of child activity. In so doing, it is intended to facilitate the task of investigating the determinants and impact of child employment, as well as to provide the nucleus of a methodology for data collection...

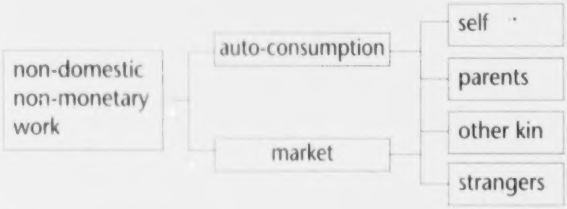
1. Domestic Work

...Although hard to identify clearly and measure, the collective category of domestic work deserves to be separated from those activities producing marketable goods and services. In effect it encompasses tasks associated with family and personal services. One purpose in making a distinction between domestic and non-domestic work is to analyse the intra-household division of labour and the process of substitution of different groups in the labour force as the nature of the labour process changes.

2. Non-domestic, Non-monetary Work

This category of work is a major form of child activity in subsistence economies, and encompasses farm work and such tasks as hunting and gathering. Time-use surveys have suggested that in agrarian economies children spend a great deal of time in such activities, particularly those that are highly time-intensive such as tending livestock, protecting crops from birds and animals, weeding, and other tasks associated with subsistence production. Such tasks form a continuum with domestic work, and the attribution of, say, winnowing to this category while treating food preparation as domestic work reflects current conventions rather than a functional distinction.

For analytical purposes, this category of activity could be sub-divided. One should if possible distinguish between work contributing to subsistence production and work contributing to production for the market (though this may be difficult in practice). A differentiation according to the exploitative mechanism involved is also desirable — the child may be working for himself or herself, for or with parents, for kin (e.g. treated as a foster child), or for strangers, the implications being different in each case. Thus we suggest the following breakdown:



...

3. Tied or Bonded Labour

"Feudal" and "semi-feudal" modes of exploitation impose labour services of various kinds on peasants and other lower-class groups. As children are often induced to work in the process, this category of activity should be incorporated in any realistic typology. The activities concerned often form part of a set of obligations to a landlord, with children having to contribute a specified amount of work as part of a peasant family's feudal rent. One common arrangement entails children working as unpaid household servants for the landlord, usually for some minimal board and lodging. Another common practice is the pledging of children as workers in part-payment of a debt... And in most cases the nature of the contract between the exploiting group and the family induced to provide their children's labour makes it hard to assess the full extent of the practice, especially as laws in many countries have ostensibly outlawed it... It should also be noted that certain types of apprenticeship system, discussed below, although not part of a classic feudal system, have implications similar to those of bondage of child labour.

4. Wage Labour

Wage labour is a major type of work activity for children, with analytical implications quite unlike those of domestic or even non-domestic family work. Conceptually, child wage labour should be classified by a series of characteristics. Probably the most basic distinction is between those working as part of a family labour force and those working as individual wage workers. Wage employment of the youngest children typically involves work as part of a family group; this has often characterised agricultural field labour where it is common for employers to hire a family work-group... However, similar patterns are possible in manual work in industry... In domestic service, a common pattern has involved women taking their daughters as assistants. Another system involves the wage labour of children as domestic servants of distant kin, with the extent of exploitation being inversely related to the closeness of kinship. The "co-exploitation" of children by employers and older relatives is also observed in industrial firms in industrialising economies...

Several other classifications are also important: first, those workers on a piece-rate or sharecropping basis should be distinguished from time-rate workers; second, an attempt should be made to distinguish wage employment that involves some training content from that involving no such content; third, "regular" employment should be distinguished from irregular, casual work, and those in permanent, or potentially permanent jobs should be clearly delineated; fourth, some attempt should be made to identify those in illegal wage employment, since this category may well comprise the majority; and fifth, a distinction should be made between wage employment that is essentially complementary to or compatible with schooling and that which is essentially competitive.

Probably child wage labour is more frequent in small than in large industrial enterprises, because the latter can less easily ignore legal restrictions. But confirmation of this is difficult, because of an obvious reluctance to report child employment among employers, parents and children alike. Moreover, there is evidence of the use of child labour in some large enterprises, as in Morocco, where extensive employment of young girls in large carpet factories has been reported.

Another major aspect of child wage labour is the widespread system of apprenticeship contracts. Such employment is often sought by children as a means of labour market entry. But the training content of many apprenticeships is minimal, and in some cases the net effect is to tie child workers for long periods to a highly exploitative system. Many "apprentices" are little more than disguised wage labour, with the added disadvantages of little or no bargaining power...

5. Marginal Economic Activities

In addition to activities which can be clearly interpreted as domestic work, unpaid family labour, bonded labour, and wage employment, there is a set of activities widely undertaken by children which do not fit into such categories. They are typically characterised by their irregularity and short-term nature, though some of those individuals practising the activities may do so on a regular, long term basis. Marginal, semi-economic activities of this type include the selling of newspapers; "looking after" cars; shoeshining; selling of sweets and other small items; running of errands; and the sorting of garbage for usable objects... The sources of child work of this type lie in the impoverishment of their families, but the children concerned are frequently working independently or on commission. Such work typically does not contribute to capital accumulation, and could be described as the activities of a lumpenproletariat.

In this marginal category should be included theft, prostitution, and other activities which are typically illegal or semi-legal. For some purposes it is useful to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate marginal activities, but analytically that may not be appropriate because an activity which is illegitimate in one place may be legitimate in another. Another point is that child participation in legitimate street-side marginal activities easily leads to various forms of crime. Prostitution tends to fall in a similar category in many societies, where ambivalent and often hypocritical attitudes lead to its association with crime and semi-legitimate activities. Under such circumstances, impoverishment and unemployment push many very young girls into an early life of prostitution. But prostitution is also widely regarded as a socially acceptable and even relatively well paid form of work. However perceived, it tends to reflect wider patterns of inequality and exploitative social relations...

Analytically, interest in participation in marginal economic activities is primarily due to the need to trace its effect on subsequent behaviour and experience. Empirically, such activities are extremely hard to measure. Anecdotal information is inadequate, as would be the practice of treating them as some sort of residual after all other forms of activity had been measured. Indeed, one criticism of data collection on time-use and activity distribution in general is that there is a tendency to distort reality by omitting "deviant" activities, which are rarely if ever admitted and unlikely to be observed. The consequence is that measured use of time tends to cluster unrealistically around a perceived normal pattern.

6. Schooling

This is an activity that is harder to assess than conventional statistics suggest. Typically census and survey data present children as being "at school" or not at school. But such are the ambiguities that the conventional index of educational attainment, namely "years of schooling", may be thoroughly misleading. In analysing child activity patterns the first distinction is between school enrolment, which in most countries is supposedly compulsory, at least at the primary level, and school attendance. But even the notion of attendance is fraught with difficulties, involving questions of regularity, daily duration and seasonality. In addition to the daily-weekly-yearly time in school, some allowance must be made for time spent in travelling to and from school, and the time required for schooling outside school hours. Moreover, school may well be combined with other activities, which no doubt reflects on the regularity and value of school attendance...

To conceptualise the activity of schooling adequately it is also necessary to consider the question of the children's ability to learn, not in terms of their native faculties, but in terms of their nutritional-energy levels and access to facilities. Attending a chronically overcrowded, ill-equipped school while suffering from malnutrition or fatigue due to other work is very different from attending small classes in a state of full health. It is also necessary to consider the anticipated duration of schooling, in terms of attendance through the year and the expected number of years and grades. In many cases school attendance is little more than a token exercise of short duration. Many other activities contribute to education, and some forms of economic activity are among them...

7. Idleness and Unemployment

Few children less than 14 years of age are classified as unemployed in conventional labour force statistics, which makes recorded labour force participation rates for, say, 10 to 14 year olds thoroughly misleading. In many low-income countries, especially in urban areas, any realistic measure of youth unemployment rate would be very high: for unemployment is the only valid way of describing the idleness frequently observed among the young. Out of school at an early age, they have no real income-earning opportunities, though the unemployment they experience is liable to be interspersed with marginal, irregular activities that provide a modicum of income. But the essence of unemployment is the induced sense of passivity, anomie and, if prolonged, surely something like unemployability for many forms of regular employment. This is the crucial difference between unemployment and recreation, which can be depicted as having a beneficial effect.

... Some effort should be directed to assessing the extent and form of unemployment among children of school-going age. The practical difficulties in measuring child and youth unemployment are legion, but that is no excuse for statistics ignoring it altogether.

8. Recreation and Leisure

Recreation or leisure is an essential activity for all age groups and has often been presented as the objective of economic life. For children it is widely regarded as the primary activity along with schooling, which in turn is often ideally presented as combining learning and play. The category of recreation is again more complex than is implied by some discussions, since the socialisation content of any given play activity may be merely facilitating a subsequent lifetime of exploitation, or developing an appropriate attitude to work and social relations, depending on your point of view. Even the separation of play and work is not necessarily easy ...

9. Reproductive Activities

To make the typology comprehensive in terms of time allocation, there should be a separate category embracing physiological activities, the most important in terms of time being sleep. Time taken or available for other reproductive activities, such as eating or cleaning and related personal care, should also be included in this category and be separated from recreation and from household work.

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Clearly, these various activities are not mutually incompatible, and various combinations will exist. In some cases, one activity will dominate, as in the case of girls engaged for seven or eight hours a day in domestic work. In other cases, time will be divided — children in the urban slums, for instance, may divide their time between domestic work, marginal and illegitimate activities, schooling and idleness. It is useful to develop "stereotypes" of frequently recurring activity patterns. There will be many such stereotypes corresponding to different socio-economic settings, though there will of course be many children who cannot be readily classified in any given stereotype.

13. *Defining Street Children*

Peter Taçon

A UNICEF Response to the Needs of Abandoned and Street Children. Geneva: UNICEF, 1985 (3-4)

Despite the hardships which daily assault families in poor urban communities of developing countries, the majority of children have homes and enjoy adequate consistent family support relative to the community's reality. These "home children" may account for as many as 75% of the child population, and may include as well youngsters with less secure family support but who are still too young to be working outside the home as well as children whose families are at such high risk that they become the most logical "candidates" for the street if no remedial action is taken.

Not all children however are as fortunate. A large number whose family support base has become increasingly weakened must share in the responsibility for family survival by working on city streets and marketplaces. For these children on the street, the home ceases to be their centre for play, culture and daily life. Nevertheless, while the street becomes their daytime activity, most of these children will return home most nights. While their family relationships may be deteriorating, they are still definitely in place, and these children continue to view life from the point of view of their families. They still strongly belong to their parent(s) and siblings. Accounting for as many as half of a given community's child population, these young people can easily be spotted (usually outside of their own neighbourhoods and in city centres) selling shopping bags, candy, chewing gum or cigarettes, shining shoes, or caring for automobiles. Often they are involved in more than one type of sale or service to make ends meet; sometimes their work is seasonal or related to special days of the week or year. The work they must perform to support their family's and their own survival is not always what we would term lawful and morally appropriate. A number become involved in petty thievery, pickpocketing, drug trafficking, prostitution and/or pornography. Many children in this grouping, made increasingly vulnerable to abuse and exploitation in street life come to have an increasingly weakened self-esteem and an increasingly negative view of themselves.

Finally, most but not all communities have a much smaller number of children who daily struggle for survival without family support, alone. While often called "abandoned", they too might also have abandoned their families, tired of insecurity and rejection and aged up with violence. If they are not collected and placed in institutions, these youngsters usually become children *of* the streets whose ties with home have now been broken and who, de facto, are without families. This group also includes of course orphans, institutionalized children, runaways, and young people who have become refugees, displaced, soldiers, bonded apprentices, and slaves. Whether declared abandoned or not (usually interpreted as being without material or moral support and/or being in material or moral danger), abandonment is deeply felt by the child. What is often interpreted as the "irregular behaviour" of these children is really a quite strong and regular adjustment to the blow of being alone in life. Fortunately, this hardest hit group of youngsters is usually very small in number, accounting for perhaps no more than 5% of the total child population of a community, city or country.

14. *A Problem with Reality*

Benno Glauser

"Street Children: Deconstructing a Construct", in James, H. and Prout, A. (eds), *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood.* Brighton: The Falmer Press, 1990 (139-42)

'Street children' is the generic term used to refer to a group of children with a special relationship to the street. The frequency of its use seems to suggest that such a group exists as a homogenous phenomenon in reality. Often, however, two differentiating subcategories are used to divide the group into 'children in the street' and 'children of the street'. The former refers to children who just use the street as their workplace, and the latter to children who also live in the street. Although the two categories do have the term 'street' in common, the street also acts as a differentiating element between them. This differentiation is made according to the type of relationship which exists between 'the child' and 'the street' as well as between 'the child' and 'his/her family'. 'Living at home with one's family and working in the street' is opposed to 'living in the street away from one's family', suggesting a basic, but implicit, dichotomy between 'home' and/or 'family' and 'street'. This differentiation contains many hidden assumptions about the meaning attached to the idea of 'the family', 'the child', 'the home' and 'the street' which, as I argue below, must be unpacked and explored to help overcome conceptual problems. Indeed, it was precisely some of these assumptions which had, as I shall show, led to difficulties with my research. To whom, amongst the children I met on the streets of Asunción, did the concepts children 'in' and 'of' the street apply?

First, there are many children whose situation does not fit easily into either category. For example, there are the children who spend the night on the street for reasons of convenience related to their jobs: there may be less competition and better business at night. For example, some of the boys who shine shoes at the central bus station of Asunción prefer working at night as long distance buses, leaving around midnight, means that an important number of passengers are waiting there during the early evening. Many of these may be potential customers. Also there is considerably less competition and therefore better business for the shoe shiners at night as there are fewer of them, since many parents do not allow their children out to work late at night. For others there are no late bus connections home or no early connections from home. Some of these children work all night whilst others get a few hours sleep wherever they can; some return home in the morning to get some sleep; others only go home every two or three days, spending the other nights together with the children who do not go home on any regular basis at all.

Some stay in the street during the week and go back home for the weekend; others do it the other way around; and still others stay on the streets for the warm nights of summers, but tend to go home again when the nights get cooler. During the Paraguayan summer, November to March, high night temperatures not only make it easy but almost necessary to sleep outside whilst winter brings sudden periods of cold weather. Accordingly, the number of children who stay away from home at night and sleep in the streets increases in summer and decreases again in winter. There is, therefore, a great variety in the ways in which these children make use of the street. Whilst there is no doubt that many of these children are at risk of staying away from home for good, many others have led this way of life for long periods without their family ties loosening. At the start of my work I had thought of all those children described above as belonging to the category 'children in the street', as they in principle lived at home, but it soon became clear to me that this was inadequate for they share much of the life of the 'children of the street'. They spend the nights anywhere in the streets, stay up late, get little sleep, are exposed to police abuses and maltreatment and are sometimes considered by passersby as abandoned, homeless, tramps, thieves or juvenile delinquents. On the other hand some of the 'children of the street' would also spend periods of time back home. I was therefore left asking: from what point on did a child become 'of the street' rather than just 'in the street?'.

The second difficulty arose when I realized that many of those I had been counting as 'children of the street' did not in fact live continuously on the street as is always assumed. They might spend days, weeks and sometimes even months at a time living within institutional homes or shelters, before returning to the street. Were these children still 'children of the street' when they have stayed off the street for six months? Other children might spend weeks or months off the street either with their families or close relatives in an attempt to re-establish themselves. Or they may live with somebody else who takes temporary charge of them out of compassion or for some other reason. Such an example would be that of a car thief who on several occasions during 1988 succeeded in convincing two or three children of the street, who had temporarily established themselves in an institutional shelter, to leave their institution and to travel with him to a town on the Brazilian border. There he gave them shelter and made them take part in car thefts — he needed children as partners as they draw less suspicion and are able to get their hands and bodies into small openings. This 'business partnership' lasted for two or three weeks at a time. Other examples are those of artisans who offer one or more children food and a place to sleep at their house in return for temporary work. Another is the young prostitute Maria, who offered a boy called 'Sucio' (his gang-name which means 'dirty') to live with her in her small rented room. She started to maintain him in exchange for the 14-year-old's affection which was obviously vital to her. Children of the street may also spend shorter or longer terms in jail between periods on the street. The one factor common to them all is that eventually they return to the street.

The third difficulty presented itself when I discovered that there were other children who live on the street, or resort to it in ways comparable to those classified as 'children of the street', but who were, however, generally considered to belong to other, separate parts of our local reality. Among them, for example, is a child prostitute who spends most of her time, including the night, on the street. She does not return home for long periods during which time she sleeps at the bar, where she also helps out, or at a friend's place. Also regarded as not really 'children of the street', despite their comparable lifestyle are the different types of runaway children: runaways from home; child soldiers who have deserted the army and runaways from homes where poor families often place their children as unpaid household help in exchange for bed and board. Within the same group are those children who rather casually, as it appears, decide to stay away from home at some stage. For example, Ignacio and Ramiro are brothers who, up to February 1989, lived with their parents, small peasant farmers, in the countryside about 110 miles from Asunción. From there they would travel together to the capital once a week in order to sell medicinal plants they had brought with them. One day they decided to stay instead of going home. Like most of the runaways (or 'stayaways') they are, as they say, sleeping in the street 'for the time being'. In many cases children like them would return home after some adventurous days and nights in town but some others might stay. Most of these children would not fit the standard image of 'children of the street' employed by international agencies, policy makers and social workers. What amount of time and under what conditions would these children have to live in the streets in order to be considered 'children of the street'?

15. *The Children of the Streets*

Hugh Cunningham

The Children of the Poor. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991 (101-2).

Throughout the debates about the exploitation of the labour of children, the fear had continually been voiced that legislative interference with a free labour market might lead to a degree of unemployment for children which would be worse in its effects than any amount of labour. Thus in the evidence given before the 1816 Select Committee on Children Employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom, even Robert Owen, who did not think it 'necessary for children to be employed, under ten years of age, in any regular work', agreed that if there was to be no education in those years, the children 'had better be employed in any occupation that should keep them out of mischief'; otherwise, they might be, as they were formerly, 'generally idle in the streets'. Thomas Whitelegg of Manchester, favourable to reform, had the suggestion put to him that if the hours of labour were limited it would leave the children 'a considerable opportunity of loitering in the streets', and Peter Noaille, who employed children from the age of six in a silk factory near Sevenoaks, argued that if they were not so employed they would be 'running about the country, and in all sorts of mischief.'[1] Coleridge's appeal to 'Conscience and to Common Sense' against arguments of this kind, which he saw as 'outrages on human nature, and mere struggles of conscious weakness'[2] cut little ice with such deeply ingrained habits of thought. Most defenders of legislation accepted the premise that idleness was worse than employment, and argued that the proposed laws would simply prevent excessive labour.[3]

In the 1830s opponents of factory legislation continued to make much of the dangers of putting children out of work. Speaking for the government of 1833, Spring Rice argued that if, as was likely, the effect of a Ten Hours Act would be 'to throw the children out of employment, what was then to become of them? Granting that the labour was severe, was not severe labour with bread better than no labour without bread?'[4] The effect of a Ten Hours Act, wrote Vernon Royle, would be to drive children 'into the poor house, or into the streets, to beg and learn to pick and steal.'[5] The Westminster Review in 1833 foresaw all children under eighteen being dismissed if Sadler's bill was passed, and being 'sent adrift to drain the bitter cup of poverty and destitution, and to cultivate every vicious propensity in the school of idleness.'[6]

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[1] Select Committee on Children Employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom, PP 1816, vol. III, pp. 157, 171, 214, 286; see also evidence of Joseph Mayer (p. 190), Richard Arkwright (p. 417), Joseph Dutton (p. 440).

[2] "The Grounds of Sir Robert Peel's Bill Vindicated by S.T. Coleridge", in Coburn, K. (ed.), *Inquiring Spirit: A New Presentation of Coleridge from his Published and Unpublished Prose Writings.* London, 1951, 365.

[3] *Answers to Certain Objections made to Sir Robert Peel's Bill,* 1819, Manchester, 32-3.

[4] Hansard, vol. XVII (1833), cc. 106-7.

[5] [Vernon Royle], The Factory System Defended (Manchester, 1833), p. 37, reprinted in *The Factory Act of 1833: Eight Pamphlets 1833-1834* (New York, 1972).

[6] "Conditions of the Working Class and the Factory Bill", Westminster Review, 18 (1833), p. 402, reprinted in *The Working Classes in the Victorian Age* (4 vols, Farnborough, 1973), vol. I.

Exploitation

Exploitation presents difficulties because it is an imprecise word that is used in everyday speech, but has also crossed into more technical literature with little further definition. It is used to refer to a large number of relationships, between nations, between men and women and between worker and employer. In the classic Marxist definition it is related precisely to the amount of profit made by the forces of capital through the extra work extracted from workers and Marx also gave some consideration to the work of children. Nevertheless, sociologists now tend to use exploitation in a far more general sense, to refer to an unusual degree of subjection among workers. In this sense, child economic exploitation becomes particularly acute because children are not only exploited as workers, but especially so because their status as children makes it easier to exploit them because they cannot protest at low pay and bad conditions.

The sexual exploitation of children, likewise, has much to do with their lack of power, although it is the fact of a payment in cash or kind that distinguishes it from sexual abuse.

In both cases, the subjective understanding children have of their exploitation is seldom explored. The brief reading from Augusto Boal is indicative of the way innovative methods of research can reveal more about children's lives.

16. *The Exploitation of Child Labour*

Karl Marx

Capital Vol. 1 (1867). London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974 (477 and 372-3).

Capitalist production is not merely the production of commodities, it is essentially the production of surplus-value. The labourer produces, not for himself, but for capital. It no longer suffices, therefore, that he should simply produce. He must produce surplus-value. The labourer alone is productive, who produces surplus-value for the capitalist, and thus works for the self-expansion of capital... To be a productive labourer is, therefore, not a piece of luck, but a misfortune...

In so far as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing labourers of slight muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all the more supple. The labour of women and children was, therefore, the first thing sought for by capitalists who used machinery. That mighty substitute for labour and labourers was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage labourers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the workman's family, without distinction of age or sex. Compulsory work for the capitalist usurped the place, not only of the children's play, but also of free labour at home within moderate limits for the support of the family.

The value of labour-power was determined, not by the labour-tie necessary to maintain the individual adult labourer, but also by that necessary to maintain his family. Machinery, by throwing every member of that family on to the labour-market, spreads,the value of the man's labour-power over his whole family. It thus depreciates his labour power. To purchase the labour power of a family of four workers may, perhaps, cost more than it formerly did to purchase the labour power of the head of the family, but, in return, four days' labour takes the place of one, and their price falls in proportion to the excess of the surplus-labour of four over the surplus-labour of one. In order that the family may live, four people must now, not only labour, but expend surplus-labour for the capitalist.

17. *The Exploitation of Child Workers*

Olga Nieuwenhuys

Children's Lifeworlds: Gender, Welfare and Labour in the Developing World. London: Routledge, 1994 (18).

It is clear then that children's work in the context of the peasant family is wrongly considered economically worthless and that though in itself often not directly productive, it is transformed into economic value in the interaction between the children's households and the larger society. It is my contention that in this process of transformation lies an undervalued, but important aspect of the exploitation of children in the Third World.

In the conceptualization of exploitation the higher value attributed to productive activities above reproductive ones proves particularly problematic. Few would disagree that a child in waged employment may easily be exploited. Some would go as far as admitting that a peasant economy often solicits children's work in agriculture and that these children are therefore also exploited. But applying the concept of exploitation to children performing domestic work for the family appears highly problematic. The reason is that the notion of exploitation is intimately linked to production. If we define exploitation as the unilateral extraction and appropriation of the product of a child's work by a third person, it is clear that there must be a product for exploitation to be at all possible. Children who are not employed or engaged in producing goods for the market, and they happen to be overwhelmingly girls, but engage in housework and child care instead, do not produce a surplus that can be extracted, and would therefore not be exploited.[1] Anthropologists have recurrently also pointed out that the extra-economic value of much work undertaken in the peasant household, for instance that which is undertaken in the realm of subsistence, poses serious obstacles for conceptualizing and measuring exploitation. However, this is not a sufficient reason, I feel, for not attempting to incorporate rural children's work within the context of the family into the notion of exploitation as this would amount to withholding from the analysis a very vital aspect of these children's everyday life.

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[1] Morice, A., "The Exploitation of Children, The 'Informal Sector': Proposals for Research", in Rogers G. and Standing G. (eds), *Child Work, Poverty and Underdevelopment*. ILO: Geneva, 1981.

18. *The Sexual Exploitation of Children*

M.L. Tan

"An Overview of Pedophilia and Child Prostitution in the Philippines", in *Pom Pom: Child and Youth Prostitution in the Philippines*. Quezon City: Health Action Information Network (HAIN), 1987 (12-13).

The main issue that must be confronted in pedophilia and child prostitution is the element of exploitation. Exploitation exists where the relationship is unequal in terms of power. We speak of exploitation in several senses:

There is *exploitation of the child*, who is often too young to be aware of the implications they enter. Pedophiles argue that all the debates over "age of consent" are meaningless because children do have sexuality and maturity is arbitrary. But this same argument can be used against pedophiles: age is an arbitrary measure of maturity and therefore even an 18-year old may be vulnerable to abuse. Being streetwise is not maturity. It is one thing to repress childhood sexuality; but it is another matter when that sexuality is used to satisfy one's own desires with little regard for the sexual partner's.

Physically and emotionally, the child is not prepared for sexual activity or sexual relationships. The child's world is different from that of the adult, and a pedophile essentially imposes his world on the child's. In fact, pedophiles obtain sexual gratification not from a "partner" in the real sense since the child may not even be capable of actual sexual activity. The child is therefore reduced to a mere object, a machine, for sexual pleasure of the older party. Michel Foucault, the French philosopher-historian who was himself homosexual, points out that the fact that even in ancient Greece, where man-boy relationships were institutionalized, feelings of affection were not supposed to enter into relationships involving women, boys and slaves.

At best, such relationships smack of patronizing condescension and violate the child's right to self-determination. Sexual conservatism has been a form of social control, but prostitution is also another mode of social control over the expression of human sexuality.

Second, we deal with *class exploitation*. The child prostitutes are often recruited from economically depressed families, who also lack the political power to fight excesses of the pedophiles. A local group of foreign pederasts claims that Pagsanjan's youthful prostitutes have been there for at least 30 years, a point which we can accept. The parish priest with his "convento boys", some schoolmasters and their special wards — these are things historians do not record but which remain part of folk history. The point is that in such relationships, the pederast comes from an economically superior status and is in the position to use children from a lower income stratum.

In the context of capitalism, there is massive commodification of sex. The child is reduced to a commodity to be exchanged mainly for money. Moreover, the child's market value is determined by age and physical qualities which depreciate not only because of biological processes associated with aging, but because of the harsh conditions of the trade itself. The main beneficiaries are the clients, the procurers, the pimps, the underworld, the police, the military and government officials.

Finally, we deal with *national exploitation*. We have become so desperate about earning dollars that we now prostitute our children to fuel our dying economy. And the pedophile tourist is well aware of this. It should be recognized, too, that some foreign pedophiles are in fact racists. There is the attraction of the "little brown boy" or "little brown girl", connotations of exotic "native" children, running wild but subservient and ever ready to please.

19. *A Child's View of Exploitation*

Augusto Boal

The Theater of the Oppressed. London: Pluto Press, 1985 (125).

In Lima the people were also asked, what is exploitation? Many photographs showed the grocer;

others the landlord; still others, some government office. On the other hand, a child answered with the picture of a nail on a wall. For him that was the perfect symbol of exploitation. Few adults understood it, but all the other people were in complete agreement that the picture expressed their feelings in relation to exploitation. The discussion explained why. The simplest work boys engage in at the age of five or six is shining shoes. Obviously, in the *barrios* where they live there are no shoes to shine and, for this reason, they must go to downtown Lima in order to find work. Their shine-boxes and other tools of the trade are of course an absolute necessity, and yet these boys cannot be carrying their equipment back and forth every day between work and home. So they must rent a nail on the wall of some place of business, whose owner charges them two or three soles per night and per nail. Looking at a nail, those children are reminded of oppression and their hatred of it; the sight of a crown, Uncle Sam, or Nixon, however, probably means nothing to them.

Education

Modern ideas of education and schooling arose alongside the development of the modern concept of childhood. However, education has a long philosophical history, in which the often authoritarian regimes of school are contrasted with more creative ways of learning. Readings from the influential work of John Dewey, Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich expand on this alternative approach, which situates learning in the context of a child's life rather than fitting children into a rigid educational system. Like Freire, Julius Nyerere is concerned that education should not only be appropriate to children but also to the cultures of societies of the South, which are struggling against a background of poor financial resources to develop their future human resources.

The two main ideas in this process have come to be known as non-formal education and basic education. Both acknowledge the vital part that culture and community have to play in education and these are explored through readings examining the definitions of non-formal and basic education as well as by the full text of the World Declaration on Education for All, made in 1990.

The final set of readings in this section examine the content and form of education in the light of concern about cultural contexts.

CONCEPTS AND HISTORY

20. *What Education Does to Children*

John Dewey

The School and Society (1900). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990 (31-2, 75).

Some few years ago I was looking about the school supply stores in the city, trying to find desks and chairs which seemed thoroughly suitable from all points of view — artistic, hygienic, and educational — to the needs of the children. We had a great deal of difficulty in finding what we needed, and finally one dealer, more intelligent than the rest, made this remark: "I am afraid we have not what you want. You want something at which the children may work; these are all for listening." That tells the story of the traditional education. Just as the biologist can take a bone or two and reconstruct the whole animal, so, if we put before the mind's eye the ordinary schoolroom, with its rows of ugly desks placed in geometrical order, crowded together so that there shall be as little moving room as possible, desks almost all of the same size, with just space enough to hold books, pencils, and paper, and add a table, some chairs, the bare walls, and possibly a few pictures, we can reconstruct the only educational activity that can possibly go on in such a place. It is all made "for listening" — because simply studying lessons out of a book is only another kind of listening; it marks the dependency of one mind upon another. The attitude of listening means, comparatively speaking, passivity, absorption; that there are certain ready-made materials which are there, which have been prepared by the school superintendent, the board, the teacher, and of which the child is to take in as much as possible in the least possible time...

From the standpoint of the child, the great waste in the school comes from his inability to utilize the experiences he gets outside the school in any complete and free way within the school itself; while, on the other hand, he is unable to apply in daily life what he is learning at school. That is the isolation of the school — its isolation from life. When the child gets into the schoolroom he has to put out of his mind a large part of the ideas, interests, and activities that predominate in his home and neighborhood. So the school, being unable to utilize this everyday experience, sets painfully to work, on another tack and by a variety of means, to arouse in the child an interest in school studies.

21. *The Banking Concept of Education*

Paulo Freire

The Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972, (45-7, 52-3).

A careful analysis of the teacher-student relationship at any level, inside or outside the school, reveals its fundamentally *narrative* character. This relationship involves a narrating Subject (the teacher) and patient, listening objects (the students). The contents, whether values or empirical dimensions of reality, tend in the process of being narrated to become lifeless and petrified. Education is suffering from narration sickness.

The teacher talks about reality as if it were motionless, static, compartmentalized and predictable. Or else he expounds on a topic completely alien to the existential experience of the students. His task is to 'fill' the students with the contents of his narration — contents which are detached from reality, disconnected from the totality that engendered them and could give them significance. Words are emptied of their concreteness and become a hollow, alienated and alienating verbosity.

The outstanding characteristic of this narrative education, then, is the sonority of words, not their transforming power. 'Four times four is sixteen; the capital of Pará is Belém.' The student records, memorizes and repeats these phrases without perceiving what four times four really means, or realizing the true significance of 'capital' in the affirmation 'the capital of Pará is Belém,' that is, what Belém means for Pará and what Pará means for Brazil.

Narration (with the teacher as narrator) leads the students to memorize mechanically the narrated content. Worse still, it turns them into 'containers', into receptacles to be filled by the teacher. The more completely he fills the receptacles, the better a teacher he is. The more meekly the receptacles permit themselves to be filled, the better students they are.

Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiqués and 'makes deposits' which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat. This is the 'banking' concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits. They do, it is true, have the opportunity to become collectors or cataloguers of the things they store. But in the last analysis, it is men themselves who are filed away through the lack of creativity, transformation, and knowledge in this (at best) misguided system. For apart from inquiry, apart from the praxis, men cannot be truly human. Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry men pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other.

In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. The teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite; by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence. The students, alienated like the slave in the Hegelian dialectic, accept their ignorance as justifying the teacher's existence — but, unlike the slave, they never discover that they educate the teacher.

The *raison d'être* of libertarian education, on the other hand, lies in its drive towards reconciliation. Education must begin with the solution of the teacher-student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously teachers *and* students.

This solution is not (nor can it be) found in the banking concept. On the contrary, banking education maintains and even stimulates the contradiction through the following attitudes and practices, which mirror oppressive society as a whole:

1. The teacher teaches and the students are taught.
2. The teacher knows everything and the students know nothing.
3. The teacher thinks and the students are thought about.
4. The teacher talks and the students listen — meekly.
5. The teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined.
6. The teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply.
7. The teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher.
8. The teacher chooses the programme content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it.
9. The teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students.
10. The teacher is the subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects.

It is not surprising that the banking concept of education regards men as adaptable, manageable beings. The more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world. The more completely they accept the passive role imposed on them, the more they tend simply to adapt to the world as it is and to the fragmented view of reality deposited in them...

The truly committed must reject the banking concept in its entirety, adopting instead a concept of men as conscious beings, and consciousness as consciousness directed towards the world. They must abandon the educational goal of deposit-making and replace it with the posing of the problems of men in their relations with the world. 'Problem-posing' education, responding to the essence of consciousness — *intentionality* — rejects communiqués and embodies communication. It epitomizes the special characteristic of consciousness: being *conscious of*, not only as intent on objects but as turned in upon itself in a Jasperian 'split' — consciousness as consciousness *of* consciousness.

Liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transferrals of information. It is a learning situation in which the cognizable object (far from being the end of the cognitive act) intermediates the cognitive actors — teacher on the one hand and students on the other. Accordingly, the practice of problem-posing education first of all demands a resolution of the teacher-student contradiction. Dialogical relations — indispensable to the capacity of cognitive actors to cooperate in perceiving the same cognizable object are otherwise impossible.

Indeed, problem-posing education, breaking the vertical patterns characteristic of banking education, can fulfill its function of being the practice of freedom only if it can overcome the above contradiction. Through dialogue, the teacher-of-the-students and the students-of-the-teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers. The teacher is no longer merely the-one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in their turn while being taught also teach. They become jointly responsible for a process in which they all grow. In this process, arguments based on 'authority' are no longer valid; in order to function, authority must be *on the side of* freedom, not *against* it. Here, no one teaches another, nor is anyone self-taught. Men teach each other, mediated by the world, by the cognizable objects which in banking education are 'owned' by the teacher.

22. *The Hidden Agenda*

Ivan Illich and Etienne Verne

Imprisoned in the Global Classroom. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Collective, 1976 (9-10).

An analysis of the defects of the school system no longer stirs anyone to action. This is true of the specialists who establish the facts, the politicians who decide how to dress them up, and the teachers who have to come to terms with them. The conclusions reached are deposited in libraries, and the great international bureaucracies have taken on the task of disseminating them.

The general agreement on the growing inefficiency of increasing educational expenditure, at an increasingly high social cost, is both dangerous and perverse. Dangerous, in that it justifies the formulation of new educational policies, and maintains the power of those agencies and networks whose function it is to adopt and implement them. Perverse, in that the more the various criticisms of the school system are absorbed, the more deeply rooted becomes the idea that education is necessary, mandatory and never-ending...

When analysing the various dimensions of the worldwide crisis in education, when denouncing the mounting cost of educational programmes, and exposing the hidden curriculum, it was universally assumed that the main result of this destructive criticism of the 10 or 15 years' compulsory school attendance and of continuing full-time schooling would be the acceptance of the idea of permanent education, instruction for people of all ages, and the throwing open of educational institutions.

It was probably the examination of alternative solutions to the negative effects of schooling that led away from the concept of education restricted to the early years of life to that of continuing educational support.

Because they limit their attention to the evident consequences of compulsory schooling, rather than to the hidden curriculum and the social ethos it produces, politicians can never think further than compensating for, correcting or restricting its superficial failings.

But the one certain effect of these innovations is to conceal still further the latent programme merely by manipulating the manifest facts, and thereby reinforcing it. Research by experts into alternative strategies, and the imposition by politicians of new legislation and regulations, imply that individuals and communities have neither sufficient resources to discover their particular educational requirements, nor the power to decide for themselves how to meet their needs. At every turn they become a little more alienated from themselves and a little more industrialized. This, in fact, is the universal result of compulsory schooling.

23. *Education for Self-reliance*

Julius Nyerere

Education for Self-reliance. Dar-es-Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1967 (1-3, 17-9).

Since long before Independence the people of this country [Tanzania], under the leadership of TANU, have been demanding more education for their children. But we have never really stopped to consider why we want education — what its purpose is. Therefore, although over time there have been various criticisms about the details of curricula provided in schools, we have not until now questioned the basic system of education which we took over at the time of independence. We have never done that because we have never thought about education except in terms of obtaining teachers, engineers, administrators, etc. Individually and collectively we have in practice thought of education as a training for the skills required to earn high salaries in the modern sector of our economy.

It is now time that we looked again at the justification for a poor society like ours spending almost 20 per cent of its Government revenues on providing education for its children and young people, and began to consider what that education should be doing. For in our circumstances it is impossible to devote Shs. 147,330,000 every year on education for some of our children (while others go without) unless its result has a proportionate relevance to the society we are trying to create.

The educational systems in different kinds of societies in the world have been, and are, very different in organization and in content. They are different because the societies providing the education are different, and because education, whether it be formal or informal, has a purpose. That purpose is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development.

This is true, explicitly or implicitly, for all societies — the capitalist societies of the West, the communist societies of the East, and the pre-colonial African societies too.

The fact that pre-colonial Africa did not have "schools" — except for short periods of initiation in some tribes — did not mean that the children were not educated. They learned by living and doing. In the homes and on the farms they were taught the skills of the society, and the behaviour expected of its members. They learned the kind of grasses which were suitable for which purposes, the work which had to be done on the crops, or the care which had to be given to animals, by joining with their elders in this work. They learned the tribal history, and the tribe's relationships with other tribes and with the spirits, by listening to the stories of the elders. Through these means, and by the custom of sharing to which young people were taught to conform, the values of the society were transmitted. Education was thus "informal"; every adult was a teacher to a greater or lesser degree. But this lack of formality did not mean that there was no education, nor did it affect its importance to the society. Indeed, it may have made the education more directly relevant to the society in which the child was growing up.

In Europe education has been formalized for a very long time. An examination of its development will show, however, that it has always had similar objectives to those implicit in the traditional African system of education. That is to say, formal education in Europe was intended to reinforce the social ethics existing in the particular country, and to prepare the children and young people for the place they will have in that society. The same thing is true of communist countries now. The content of education is somewhat different from that of Western countries, but the purpose is the same — to prepare young people to live in and to serve the society, and to transmit the knowledge, skills, and values and attitudes of the society. Wherever education fails in any of these fields, then the society falters in its progress, or there is social unrest as people find that their education has prepared them for a future which is not open to them...

Yet it is easy to say that our primary and secondary schools must prepare young people for the realities and needs of Tanzania; to do it requires a radical change, not only in the education system but also in many existing community attitudes. In particular, it requires that examinations should be down-graded in Government and public esteem. We have to recognize that although they have certain advantages — for example, in reducing the dangers of nepotism and tribalism in a selection process — they also have severe disadvantages too. As a general rule they assess a person's ability to learn facts and present them on demand within a time period. They do not always succeed in assessing a power to reason, and they certainly do not assess character or willingness to serve.

Further, at the present time our curriculum and syllabus are geared to the examinations set — only to a very limited extent does the reverse situation apply. A teacher who is trying to help his pupils often studies the examination papers for the past years and judges what questions are most likely to be asked next time; he then concentrates his teaching on those matters, knowing that by doing so he is giving his children the best chance of getting through to secondary school or university. And the examinations our children at present sit are themselves geared to an international standard and practice which has developed regardless of our particular problems and needs. What we need to do now is think first about the education we want to provide, and when that thinking is completed think about whether some form of examination is an appropriate way of closing an education phase. Then such an examination should be designed to fit the education which has been provided.

Most important of all is that we should change the things we demand of our schools. We should not determine the type of things children are taught in primary schools by the things a doctor, engineer, teacher, economist, or administrator need to know. Most of our pupils will never be any of these things. We should determine the type of things taught in the primary schools by the things which the boy or girl ought to know — that is, the skills he ought to acquire and the values he ought to cherish if he, or she, is to live happily and well in a socialist and predominantly rural society, and contribute to the improvement of life there. Our sights must be on the majority; it is they we must be aiming at in determining the curriculum and syllabus. Those most suitable for further education will still become obvious, and they will not suffer. For the purpose is not to provide an inferior education to that given at present. The purpose is to provide a different education — one realistically designed to fulfill the common purposes of education in the particular society of Tanzania. The same thing must be true at post-primary schools. The object of the teaching must be the provision of knowledge, skills, and attitudes which will serve the student when he or she lives and works in a developing and changing socialist state; it must not be aimed at university entrance.

Alongside this change in the approach to the curriculum there must be a parallel and integrated change in the way our schools are run, so as to make them and their inhabitants a real part of our society and our economy. Schools must, in fact, become communities — and communities which practise the precept of self-reliance. The teachers, workers, and pupils together must be the members of a social unit in the same way as parents, relatives, and children are the family social unit. There must be the same kind of relationship between pupils and teachers within the school community as there is between children and parents in the village. And the former community must realize, just as the latter do, that their life and well-being depend upon the production of wealth — by farming or other activities. This means that all schools, but especially secondary schools and other forms of higher education, must contribute to their own upkeep; they must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities. Each school should have, as an integral part of it, a farm or workshop which provides the food eaten by the community, and makes some contribution to the total national income.

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

24. *The Rise of Non-formal Education*

Philip H. Coombs

The World Crisis in Education. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985 (22-6).

The new interest in nonformal education that arose in the 1970s was prompted especially by the newly proclaimed strategies calling for a stronger, more integrated, and more community-based approach to rural development and to meeting the basic needs of the poor. It was evident that if a real dent was to be made in these basic needs, millions of people of all ages and walks of life would have to learn many new things. Those engaged in delivering various technical advisory services and material assistance to individual communities, ranging from top managers and specialists at the national level down to local extension workers, would all require special and continuing training, and the masses of local recipients of such services would have to learn how to make the best use of them and how to take command of their futures. The formal education system could help in these matters, but even if it were more fully developed and widely accessible, it could not be expected to serve more than a fraction of this great melange of learning needs and learners. Clearly, a wide variety of nonformal education activities would also be required, especially to serve out-of-school youth and adults.

But here a series of insistent questions begged for answers: What is nonformal education? What does it look like? How does it work? Whom should it serve? How is it organized, managed, and financed? These were among the questions being asked by educators and by development authorities as this awkward and unfamiliar new term made its way into the international lexicon of education in the early 1970s.

Not surprisingly, the term nonformal education (which translated into various languages with different overtones) soon became shrouded in confusion and misunderstanding as different people and organizations, viewing it from their own special vantage points, interpreted it differently. Many occupants of ministries of education in developing countries equated nonformal education with adult education, which in turn they equated with adult literacy classes. Others, not yet fully aware of the vast variety of learners, learning objectives, and types of specialized knowledge and skills encompassed by nonformal education, immediately assumed that, since it wore an education label, it should be brought promptly within the jurisdiction of the ministry of education. This view was fuelled by the recently declared willingness of leading development assistance agencies such as the World Bank, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and the U.S.

Agency for International Development (USAID) to support nonformal education. Still other guardians of the schools, however, feared the growing popularity of nonformal education, seeing it as a competing alternative system that would siphon much-needed resources away from the formal system.

Ironically, some of the strongest critics of formal education, including the "de-schoolers" inspired by Ivan Illich, saw nonformal education in the same light but welcomed it as a means of breaking the monopoly of the formal system.[1] Ironically, also, the new left critics, who had roundly condemned Western-style formal education as a conspiracy of capitalists to retain their power by training docile and obedient workers who could be exploited, now condemned nonformal education as a hoax designed to delude the poor into thinking they were getting "the real thing."

Although much of this confusion has since dissipated, enough lingers on to warrant a brief pause to clarify what nonformal education is and what it is not.

Nonformal education, contrary impressions notwithstanding, does not constitute a distinct and separate educational system, parallel to the formal education system. Nonformal education is simply a handy generic label covering:

> any organized, systematic, educational activity, carried on outside the framework of the formal system, to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children. Thus defined nonformal education includes, for example, agricultural extension and farmer training programs, adult literacy programs, occupational skill training given outside the formal system, youth clubs with substantial educational purposes, and various community programs of instruction in health nutrition, family planning, cooperatives, and the like.[2]

Unlike nonformal education, formal education is a "true" system in the sense that all of its parts, at least in principle, are interconnected and mutually supporting. Various nonformal educational activities, on the other hand, are generally independent of each other, though some are integral parts of particular development systems, such as agricultural, health, industrial, or integrated community development systems. In some instances (though only a minority), they are closely related to formal education, as in the case of adult literacy programs or "second chance" school-type programs for out-of-school youth (an interesting example of a hybrid of formal and nonformal education).

To clarify the terminology, the third basic mode of education — namely, informal education — sounds like nonformal education but is actually quite different. Informal education refers to:

> The life-long process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment — at home, at work, at play; from the example and attitudes of family and friends; from travel, reading newspapers and books; or by listening to the radio or viewing films or television. Generally, informal education is unorganized, unsystematic and even unintentional at times, yet it accounts for the great bulk of any person's total lifetime learning — including that of even a highly "schooled" person.[3]

What an individual learns from informal education, however, is limited to whatever his or her personal environment happens to offer.

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[1] Illich, I., *Deschooling Society.* New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

[2] Coombs, D. and Ahmed, M. *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

[3] *Ibid.*

25. *The History of Basic Education*

Hugh Hawes

Curriculum and Reality in African Schools. Harlow: Longman Group Ltd, 1979 (161-5).

Fifteen or even ten years ago when I talked of Education I meant, almost invariably, schooling. Nowadays I am more careful with my words: when I mean schooling I say so; I consciously distinguish between formal and non-formal systems of education, and so do my colleagues in curriculum development work all over Africa.

This change in language reflects a change in attitude — a change for the better. We are, at last, beginning to see school education in perspective as one educational process among many. Parallel to this comes the realisation that education (and this includes school education) is one factor and one factor only contributory to development. We are being cut down to size.

This new attitude stems partly from a new sense of reality. It has become increasingly obvious that current school systems and their curricula can never suffice to give people the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed in a world of change; that current structures and content of formal education create divisions within society which leave behind them a flotsam of disappointed and disillusioned young men and women seeking employment opportunities which do not exist; that even if we should wish to replicate present structures and provide more schooling for more children, it is often impossible to do so in the face of mounting populations and within current levels of financial and material resources.

At the same time, the philosophical basis of our educational policies and curricula are increasingly called to question. We read and begin increasingly to heed statements of Marxist and Maoist educational policy and philosophy. We note an increasing measure of concern in the writing and policies of bodies such as the World Bank, UNESCO and UNICEF to seek means by which education may, in some way, help to reduce the gaps within societies rather than widen them; we read the literature of 'deschooling', the writings of committed critics of the established order such as Illich, Reimer and Freire and realise that while their suggestions of action may appear impracticable, their analysis of current weaknesses are both powerful and disturbing.

One of the most important single documents to have emerged in the past decade has been the report of the UNESCO sponsored International Commission on Education chaired by Edgar Faure and published in 1972 under the title of Learning to Be. The idea of lifelong education which it propounds goes far beyond educational rhetoric, for although the central conception of education as a lifelong activity has been present since mankind started to reflect on the process, the Faure report deepens and strengthens the concept. Its views on the relation of the formal system to the total process are of particular relevance to us. In the simplest analysis the report reminds us:

1. that schooling is just a part of education;
2. that education cannot be conceived of as taking place at certain ages, stages, times and places. It is always unfinished business;
3. that educational opportunities formal and non-formal must relate to each other both horizontally (e.g. school, home, mosque, media, work experience) and vertically throughout the different stages of a learner's life;
4. that there are many paths to learning, no one path being better or worse than another, only more efficient or more appropriate;
5. that methods, materials and delivery systems must also vary to suit purposes and means available.

From such roots, the economic political and educational realities, criticisms of existing educational philosophies, the demands for equity and the influence of educational thinking such as the Faure report, a strong demand has emerged in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America for some form of basic education for the masses as a first phase in a process of lifelong education. Yet as the idea of basic education becomes elaborated and translated into policy in different countries in the world, it becomes increasingly obvious that to different people in different countries it has different meanings.

In official reports, basic education is currently used as follows:

- Synonymous with pre-school education (Jamaica)
- Synonymous with the whole compulsory school cycle (Zambia)
- Synonymous with the first part of the first cycle of schooling and shorter than the conventional primary schooling (say three, four or five years instead of six, seven or eight) (U.S.S.R., Ethiopia, Sierra Leone)
- An alternative structure parallel to conventional primary education (Brazil)
- An alternative form of schooling for rural peasant societies geared to simple rural transformation (India, where it dates from the time of Ghandi)
- The acquisition of basic knowledge, attitudes and skills, by all citizens in school or out (Tanzania)
- Mainly in respect of younger learners — excluding adults — (Upper Volta)

This confusion is worrying. I have heard voiced the opinion that the idea of basic education is too imprecise to be of educational worth. However, since I happen to believe in its value, I have attempted to sort out, in my own mind, what I understand the concept to imply.

(i) *Basic education is an idea and not a system.*

It is not conceived as three years, four years or six years, but rather as a set of basic skills, knowledge and attitudes which will enable learners to take charge of their own lives and set them free to learn further. Thus the concept of 'minimum learning needs' is important but such needs will vary according to the educational context.

(ii) *Basic education involves the acceptance of different paths to learning towards its goals.*

Hence different structures, contents and educational materials can be used. To apply this concept to older adults is possible. It is, however, most profitable to consider basic education in relation to (a) children in formal primary schools, (b) children, youth and young adults following alternative paths towards the same general goals. Such paths would include accelerated patterns of formal schooling for older children as well as many varieties of part-time and non-formal education.

(iii) *Basic education is a concept which relates to individual attainment of goals rather than to time spent or ground covered.*

It does not involve a competitive element. The concept of mastery learning by Bloom and others is valuable here, though we must distinguish the ideas themselves from the detailed application of them by American academics which would introduce a sophistication (and a cost) wholly inapplicable in most developing countries.

(iv) *Basic education is very basic.*

It relates to situations as they are, to 'minimum survival needs' of a majority of learners, many of whom are studying in difficult conditions.

(v) *Basic education is not to be considered as terminal in contrast to some other form of education which leads to further study, and not as rural in contrast to urban education.*

On the contrary, it must be thought of as providing the maximum degree of mobility for the learner to meet changing situations and to continue his education to the best of his abilities and opportunity. Provision of basic education should open doors for learners rather than close them.

(vi) *Basic education must be conceived in the context of partnership ...*

... between various educational agencies, e.g. the family, the school, non-formal education, the community. It is essential to identify which agencies contribute most effectively towards which educational needs for which group of learners.

What is New in These Ideas?

These ideas are not merely rhetorical: they conflict sharply with principles preached with some passion by western educators in developing countries and accepted equally avidly by a growing establishment in the society and by the education industry: the principle that education can be measured in time spent and ground covered; ideas of competition and the normal curve of distribution as a framework for measurement of educational achievement; ideas about the primacy of the school and school teacher in the educational process; concepts of standards, grades, and many more.

Yet although the ideas are new and revolutionary they are headily attractive, particularly to politicians, because they seem to offer a direct and politically acceptable way out of the impasse of attempting to do more with less. Hence the greatest of good sense and maturity are needed, on the one hand to accept the implications of the basic education message, on the other to resist the temptation to give worse schooling to more people and call it basic education.

26. *The World Declaration on Education for All (Jomtien Declaration)*

World Declaration on Education for All, World Conference on Education for All, 5-9 March, 1990, Jomtien, Thailand.

Education for All: The Purpose

Article 1: Meeting Basic Learning Needs

1. Every person — child, youth and adult — shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs. These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy, and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning. The scope of basic learning needs and how they should be met varies with individual countries and cultures, and inevitably, changes with the passage of time.

2. The satisfaction of these needs empowers individuals in any society and confers upon them a responsibility to respect and build upon their collective cultural, linguistic and spiritual heritage, to promote the education of others, to further the cause of social justice, to achieve environmental protection, to be tolerant towards social, political and religious systems which differ from their own, ensuring that commonly accepted humanistic values and human rights are upheld, and to work for international peace and solidarity in an interdependent world.

3. Another and no less fundamental aim of educational development is the transmission and enrichment of common cultural and moral values. It is in these values that the individual and society find their identity and worth.

4. Basic education is more than an end in itself. It is the foundation for lifelong learning and human development on which countries may build, systematically, further levels and types of education and training.

Education for All: An Expanded Vision and a Renewed Commitment

Article 2: Shaping the Vision

1. To serve the basic learning needs of all requires more than a recommitment to basic education as it now exists. What is needed is an "expanded vision" that surpasses present resource levels, institutional structures, curricula, and conventional delivery systems while building on the best in current practices. New possibilities exist today which result from the convergence of the increase in information and the unprecedented capacity to communicate. We must seize them with creativity and a determination for increased effectiveness.

2. As elaborated in Articles 3-7, the expanded vision encompasses:

- Universalizing access and promoting equity;
- Focussing on learning;
- Broadening the means and scope of basic education;
- Enhancing the environment for learning;
- Strengthening partnerships.

3. The realization of an enormous potential for human progress and empowerment is contingent upon whether people can be enabled to acquire the education and the start needed to tap into the ever-expanding pool of relevant knowledge and the new means for sharing this knowledge.

Article 3: Universalizing Access and Promoting Equity

1. Basic education should be provided to all children, youth and adults. To this end, basic education services of quality should be expanded, and consistent measures must be taken to reduce disparities.

2. For basic education to be equitable, all children, youth and adults must be given the opportunity to achieve and maintain an acceptable level of learning.

3. The most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of, education for girls and women, and to remove every obstacle that hampers their active participation. All gender stereotyping in education should be eliminated.

4. An active commitment must be made to removing educational disparities. Underserved groups — the poor; street and working children; rural and remote populations; nomads and migrant workers; indigenous peoples; ethnic, racial, and linguistic minorities; refugees; those displaced by war; and people under occupation — should not suffer any discrimination in access to learning opportunities.

5. The learning needs of the disabled demand special attention. Steps need to be taken to provide equal access to education to every category of disabled persons as an integral part of the education system.

Article 4: Focussing on Learning Acquisition

Whether or not expanded educational opportunities will translate into meaningful development — for an individual or for society — depends ultimately on whether people actually learn as a result of those opportunities, i.e., whether they incorporate useful knowledge, reasoning ability, skills, and values. The focus of basic education must, therefore, be on actual learning acquisition and outcome, rather than exclusively upon enrolment, continued participation in organized programmes and completion of certification requirements. Active and participatory approaches are particularly valuable in assuring learning acquisition and allowing learners to reach their fullest potential. It is, therefore, necessary to define acceptable levels of learning acquisition for educational programmes and to improve and apply systems of assessing learning achievement.

Article 5: Broadening the Means and Scope of Basic Education

The diversity, complexity, and changing nature of basic learning needs of children, youth and adults necessitates broadening and constantly redefining the scope of basic education to include the following components:

- *Learning begins at birth.* This calls for early childhood care and initial education. These can be provided through arrangements involving families, communities, or institutional programmes, as appropriate.
- *The main delivery system for the basic education of children outside the family is primary schooling.* Primary education must be universal, ensure that the basic learning needs of all children are satisfied, and take into account the culture, needs, and opportunities of the community. Supplementary alternative programmes can help meet the basic learning needs of children with limited or no access to formal schooling, provided that they share the same standards of learning applied to schools, and are adequately supported.
- *The basic learning needs of youth and adults are diverse and should be met through a variety of delivery systems.* Literacy programmes are indispensable because literacy is a necessary skill in itself and the foundation of other life skills. Literacy in the mother-tongue strengthens cultural identity and heritage. Other needs can be served by: skills training, apprenticeships, and formal and non-formal education programmes in health, nutrition, population, agricultural techniques, the environment, science, technology, family life,

including fertility awareness, and other societal issues.

- *All available instruments and channels of information, communications, and social action could be used to help convey essential knowledge and inform and educate people on social issues.* In addition to the traditional means, libraries, television, radio and other media can be mobilized to realize their potential towards meeting basic education needs of all.

These components should constitute an integrated system — complementary, mutually reinforcing, and of comparable standards, and they should contribute to creating and developing possibilities for lifelong learning.

Article 6: Enhancing the Environment for Learning

Learning does not take place in isolation. Societies, therefore, must ensure that all learners receive the nutrition, health care, and general physical and emotional support they need in order to participate actively in and benefit from their education. Knowledge and skills that will enhance the learning environment of children should be integrated into community learning programmes for adults. The education of children and their parents or other caretakers is mutually supportive and this interaction should be used to create, for all, a learning environment of vibrancy and warmth.

Article 7: Strengthening Partnerships

National, regional, and local educational authorities have a unique obligation to provide basic education for all, but they cannot be expected to supply every human, financial or organizational requirement for this task. New and revitalized partnerships at all levels will be necessary: partnerships among all subsectors and forms of education, recognizing the special role of teachers and that of administrators and other educational personnel; partnerships between education and other government departments, including planning, finance, labour, communications, and other social sectors; partnerships between government and non-governmental organizations, the private sector, local communities, religious groups, and families. The recognition of the vital role of both families and teachers is particularly important. In this context, the terms and conditions of service of teachers and their status, which constitute a determining factor in the implementation of education for all, must be urgently improved in all countries in line with the joint ILO/UNESCO Recommendation Concerning the Status of Teachers (1966). Genuine partnerships contribute to the planning, implementing, managing and evaluating of basic education programmes. When we speak of "an expanded vision and a renewed commitment", partnerships are at the heart of it.

Education for All: The Requirements

Article 8: Developing a Supporting Policy Context

1. Supportive policies in the social, cultural, and economic sectors are required in order to realize the full provision and utilization of basic education for individual and societal improvement. The provision of basic education for all depends on political commitment and political will backed by appropriate fiscal measures and reinforced by educational policy reforms and institutional strengthening. Suitable economic, trade, labour, employment and health policies will enhance learners' incentives and contributions to societal development.

2. Societies should also insure a strong intellectual and scientific environment for basic education. This implies improving higher education and developing scientific research. Close contact with contemporary technological and scientific knowledge should be possible at every level of education.

Article 9: Mobilizing Resources

1. If the basic learning needs of all are to be met through a much broader scope of action than in the past, it will be essential to mobilize existing and new financial and human resources, public, private and voluntary. All of society has a contribution to make, recognizing that time, energy and funding directed to basic education are perhaps the most profound investment in people and in the future of a country which can be made.

2. Enlarged public-sector support means drawing on the resources of all the government agencies responsible for human development, through increased absolute and proportional allocations to basic education services with the clear recognition of competing claims on national resources of which education is an important one, but not the only one. Serious attention to improving the efficiency of existing educational resources and programmes will not only produce more, it can also be expected to attract new resources. The urgent task of meeting basic learning needs may require a reallocation between sectors, as, for example, a transfer from military to educational expenditure. Above all, special protection for basic education will be required in countries undergoing structural adjustment and facing severe external debt burdens. Today, more than ever, education must be seen as a fundamental dimension of any social, cultural, and economic design.

Article 10: Strengthening International Solidarity

1. Meeting basic learning needs constitutes a common and universal human responsibility. It requires international solidarity and equitable and fair economic relations in order to redress existing economic disparities. All nations have valuable knowledge and experiences to share for designing effective educational policies and programmes.

2. Substantial and long-term increases in resources for basic education will be needed. The world community, including intergovernmental agencies and institutions, has an urgent responsibility to alleviate the constraints that prevent some countries from achieving the goal of education for all. It will mean the adoption of measures that augment the national budgets of the poorest countries or serve to relieve heavy debt burdens. Creditors and debtors must seek innovative and equitable formulae to resolve these burdens, since the capacity of many developing countries to respond effectively to education and other basic needs will be greatly helped by finding solutions to the debt problem.

3. Basic learning needs of adults and children must be addressed wherever they exist. Least developed and low-income countries have special needs which require priority in international support for basic education in the 1990s.

4. All nations must also work together to resolve conflicts and strife, to end military occupations, and to settle displaced populations, or to facilitate their return to their countries of origin, and ensure that their basic learning needs are met. Only a stable and peaceful environment can create the conditions in which every human being, child and adult alike, may benefit from the goals of this Declaration.

LANGUAGE AND LITERACY

27. *The Politics of Literacy*

Barbara Bee

"The Politics of Literacy", in Mackie, R. (ed.), *Literacy and Revolution: The Pedagogy of Paulo Freire.* London: Pluto Press, 1980 (39-41).

Literacy is a two-edged sword.
It can be repressive or liberating.[1]

Paulo Freire's principal concern during his time in Brazil was for the vast numbers of illiterate people, estimated at sixteen million aged fourteen years and over. He sought to popularise and make available to them an education which need not take place in a traditional school. Together with his colleagues, Freire launched 'culture circles' in the villages and slum areas of Recife as an alternative. They were deliberately designed to be as unlike school programmes as possible: in place of a teacher, there would be a co-ordinator; instead of the traditional lecture and handing down of information, an exchange of ideas between people in the form of 'dialogue'; instead of passive pupils, there would be active group participants; instead of material which was far removed from the interests and understanding of the participants, there would be compact programmes broken down into manageable and meaningful learning units. The purpose of these culture circles was to attempt, through group debate, 'either to clarify situations or to seek action arising from that clarification'.[2]

Topics for debates in the culture circles included nationalism, profit remittances abroad, the political evolution of Brazil, development, illiteracy, the vote for illiterates, and democracy. These topics were introduced with slides or pictures and followed by discussion. Generally encouraged by the results of this form of participatory teaching and the level of discussion and dialogue which resulted, Freire became even more convinced that learning to read should be, for adults, a process in which the actual content and material had bearing on their daily reality. Moreover, a study of the problems should lead to critical awareness of the possibilities for action and change. Thus the chief object of the literacy process was not one of mere technical mastery of the written word, but a quality of consciousness, a changed awareness which the people could express through language and action. As Freire put it: 'I treated literacy as more than a mechanical problem, and linked it to *conscientiazacao*, which was dangerous'.

The task of motivating the Brazilian people was a difficult one. They were apathetic, downtrodden, and fatalistic in their attitudes. In order to change this demoralising situation into something more positive and responsive Freire and his team needed to convince the people of their own worth, to show them that no matter how denuded of dignity they considered themselves to be, they were in fact makers of culture, of history, and subjects in life, not merely objects of manipulation. A literacy programme was thus developed based on an anthropological concept of culture and the difference between 'nature', which humans did not make, and 'culture', which they create and recreate. Freire believed that in discussing this distinction illiterates would be enabled to see that they contribute as much to history and culture as literate people. The people would become aware that they can know as conscious beings, and therefore can act upon their world to transform it. Significant in that distinction was the power of language — both oral and written — in enabling illiterates to emerge, through discussion and critical reflection, from ignorance and opinion to knowledge and understanding. So what the illiterate would gain from an examination of the anthropological concept of culture would be an awareness of:

> the distinction between the world of nature and the world of culture; the active role of people in and with their reality; the role of mediation which nature plays in relationships and communication among the people; culture as an addition made by people to a world they did not make; culture as the result of the labour of men and women; of their efforts to create and re-create; the transcendental meaning of human relationships; the humanistic dimension of culture; but as creative assimilation, not as information storing; the democratisation of culture; the learning of reading and writing, as a key to the world of written communication. In short, the role of men and women as subjects in the world, and with the world.

By this approach to education and literacy Freire and his colleagues hoped the masses would gradually lose their fatalistic, apathetic and naïve view of the world and the word as unalterably given, replacing it with critical awareness and acceptance of their role as subjects in and of the world, whose presence and existence demanded action as well as critical thought.

28. *What Literacy Means*

Augusto Boal

The Theater of the Oppressed. London: Pluto Press, 1985 (120-1).

In 1973, the revolutionary government of Peru began a national literacy campaign called *Operación Alfabetización Integral* with the objective of eradicating illiteracy within the span of four years. It is estimated that in Peru's population of 14 million people, between three and four million are illiterate or semi-illiterate.

In any country the task of teaching an adult to read and write poses a difficult and delicate problem. In Peru the problem is magnified because of the vast number of languages and dialects spoken by its people. Recent studies point to the existence of at least 41 dialects of the two principal languages, besides Spanish, which are the Quechua and the Aymara. Research carried out in the province of Loreto in the north of the country, verified the existence of 45 different languages in that region. Forty-five *languages*, not mere dialects! And this is what is perhaps the least populated province in the country.

This great variety of languages has perhaps contributed to an understanding on the part of the organizers of ALFIN, that the illiterate are not people who are unable to express themselves: they are simply people unable to express themselves in a particular language, which in this case is Spanish. All idioms are "languages", but there is an infinite number of languages that are not idiomatic. There are many languages besides those that are written or spoken. By learning a new language, a person acquires a new way of knowing reality and of passing that knowledge on to others. Each language is absolutely irreplaceable. All languages complement each other in achieving the widest, most complete knowledge of what is real.

Assuming this to be true, the ALFIN project formulated two principal aims:

1) to teach literacy in both the first language and in Spanish without forcing the abandonment of the former in favor of the latter;
2) to teach literacy in all possible languages, especially the artistic ones, such as theater, photography, puppetry, films, journalism, etc.

The training of the educators, chosen from the same regions where literacy was to be taught, was developed in four stages according to the special characteristics of each social group:

1) *barrios* (neighborhoods) or new villages, corresponding to our slums (*cantegril, favela, ...*);
2) rural areas;
3) mining areas;
4) areas where Spanish is not the first language, which embrace 40 per cent of the population. Of this 40 per cent, half is made up of bilingual citizens who learned Spanish after acquiring fluency in their own indigenous language. The other half speaks no Spanish.

It is too early to evaluate the results of the ALFIN plan since it is still in its early stages. What I propose to do here is to relate my personal experience as a participant in the theatrical sector and to outline the various experiments we made in considering the

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[1] Hoyles, M. (ed.), *The Politics of Literacy.* London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1977, p. 29.

[2] Freire, P., *Education: The Practice of Freedom.* London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative, 1976.

theater as language, capable of being utilized by any person, with or without artistic talent. We tried to show in practice how the theater can be placed at the service of the oppressed, so that they can express themselves and so that, by using this new language, they can also discover new concepts.

29. *Basic Education and the Language Question*

Martin Carnoy

The Case for Investing in Basic Education. New York: UNICEF 1992 (67-71).

A surprisingly large percentage of the world's children have to learn in basic education in a language different from the one they speak at home. In many countries or regions of countries, few of the children in the classroom speak the language of instruction when they first enter school. This can create difficulties. A common language of school instruction is intended to be a force for national unification, and its choice is usually made for socio-political reasons. Nigerian linguist Efurosibina Adegbija shows that if members of subnational ethnic groups are disfavoured by such a uniform language policy, it leads to higher school dropout rates for these groups, adult social marginalization and national disunification — precisely the opposite of what the policy intended.[1] A school language policy often turns out to be a way of reproducing a national elite that already speaks, reads and writes that language well at home.[2] Such policies act as a barrier to the achievement of effective and universal primary education.

The recent linguistic and socio-linguistic research on bilingualism (teaching children who speak one language in another language) suggests that learning two languages can have positive cognitive effects. A number of systematic studies in Singapore, South Africa, Canada, Switzerland, Israel and New York indicate that "bilingual children, relative to monolingual controls, show definite advantages on measures of 'cognitive flexibility,' 'creativity,' or 'divergent thought'".[3]

But these results must be interpreted carefully. All the studies showing positive learning effects from bilingualism refer to "dominant language" speakers learning in a non-dominant or equally dominant language in school. For example, the Canadian studies were conducted on English-speaking primary school pupils whose parents volunteered them for a programme conducted wholly in French. The students were supported at home in this effort, and they were also motivated by the social context to expand their knowledge of their native English. When non-dominant language speakers have to learn at school only in the dominant language, the results are less clear,[4] and much more attention has to be paid to how the language is used in teaching. The experience of African countries where English is used as a medium of instruction is one of poor scholastic performance, with students incompetent in both languages.[5]

Basic education can teach children a language that they do not speak at home with positive learning results and can produce a society that is multilingual, more creative and prepared to interact in international culture while preserving its subnational cultural roots. The emerging consensus among socio-linguists suggests that the best way to do this when children speak a non-dominant language and are asked to learn a higher-status language is to teach the basic literacy and numeracy skills first in the local language.[6] These skills, linguists agree, are transferable to other languages,[7] and the dominant language can be introduced in school at a level where pupils already possess the basic skills learned in their mother tongue...

[T]he ultimate criterion on which to base the policy should be whether the language of instruction chosen allows the mass of the country's children to learn key skills and values. The widely held notion that young children can learn other languages easily, if merely exposed to them, is a myth, unsupported by the evidence.[8] Teaching in a language for which skilled teachers are not available, immediately immersing children in a language that conveys to them a message of exclusion or using a language of instruction for which learning materials are too expensive to buy prevents young people from getting those skills. Speaking a second, internationally common language is certainly important to becoming more international, but the fundamental basis for international culture is more than ever the literacy and numeracy skills and the values associated with them.

Language policy in basic education should therefore focus on promoting common learning objectives. The choice of language of instruction should be subsumed to the objective of making the largest possible number of children and adults literate and numerate at the highest possible level. The availability of teachers who can teach well in a particular language, inexpensive and effective curriculum materials to which teachers can add other materials themselves and teaching methods that fit community learning styles should drive language choice in basic education, not the reverse.

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[1] Adegbija, E., "The Implications of the Language of Instruction for Nationhood: An Illustration with Nigeria", *ITL Review of Applied Linguistics*, 85/6, August 1989.

[2] Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, C, *Reproduction*. New York: Sage Publications, 1979.

[3] Lambert, W., "Some Cognitive and Sociocultural Consequences of Being Bilingual", in Alatis, J.E. (ed.), *Georgetown Roundtable on Language and Linguistics*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1978.

[4] Hakuta, K., *Mirror of Language*. New York: Basic Books, 1986; McKay, S., "Weighing Educational Alternatives", in McKay, S. *et al.* (eds), *Language Diversity, Problem or Resource*. New York: Newbury House Publishers, 1988.

[5] Haasbroek, J.B., *The Medium of Instruction in Developing Countries*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1989.

[6] McKay, S. "Weighing Educational Alternatives", in McKay, S. *et al.* (eds), *Language Diversity, Problem or Resource*. New York: Newbury House Publishers, 1988.

[7] Hakuta, *op. cit.*

[8] McKay, *op. cit.*

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30. *The Child's Language and the Teacher*

Krishna Kumar

[*] *The Child's Language and the Teacher — A Handbook*. New Delhi: UNICEF, 1987.

Of all the challenges that teachers of young children must face, the challenge of introducing children to reading is perhaps the most difficult as well as the most exciting. It is the most difficult one because reading is not a simple skill; it involves the combination of many skills and cognitive abilities. There is no single, foolproof method of teaching how to read. Every method has its own limitations, and no one can tell the teacher precisely what to do under given circumstances. Yet, the teaching of reading is an exciting thing. It is exciting because so much in the child's life depends on it, and once the child has been introduced to reading and books in a successful manner, there is no end to what the child can accomplish.

So, the real point is how to teach reading in a 'successful' way. This should give us a moment to ponder on the enormous rate of failure we see around us in this matter. Millions of children learn reading every year, and a great many of these children fail to achieve lasting reading skills. A great many manage to read well enough to pass school examinations, but do not develop any interest in reading. So many seem to read well, but actually comprehend very little. To a great extent these failures can be laid at the door of poor teaching of reading.

No teacher needs to be reminded of the role that sound reading skills play in the child's overall development. Yet, it seems that few teachers know precisely what 'sound reading skills' are and how they can be developed. The way in which we will look at reading in this chapter, 'sound reading skills' would mean *skills that enable the child to associate meaning with written or printed language*. Unless a child can make sense of what he or she reads, or *relate it to something else* that he already knows, we cannot call his reading sound. So, in terms of our work, we will define reading as a process of finding meaning in written words.

Once we agree to work by definition, we will soon see that we cannot be satisfied with a number of things that routinely occur in kindergartens and the early grades of primary schools. For example, rote recitation of the alphabet, or choral sounding out of a story word by word cannot be described as very satisfactory procedures for the teaching of reading by our definition. While doing these activities, children cannot associate any meaning with the written language. Separate letters of the alphabet do not mean anything. If words in a story are read one by one, they mean very little; one cannot relate to the story this way. Some people might say that such activities may not be immediately meaningful, but they serve as the basis for meaningful reading in future. Perhaps this argument has some truth in it. However, the truth will apply only if all children stay long enough in school to get a chance to read meaningfully. What about those children who feel totally frustrated by drills like repeating a sound a dozen times, copying a letter, sounding out separate words? We all know that children like activities that have an immediate pay off. Few children can feel excited about doing something that promises to yield results in the remote future. And for many children, the future may not offer the opportunity to stay on at school. Early frustration and failure, along with many other factors, lead to their departure from school.

So, the key question we face is: 'How to make the initial teaching of reading meaningful?' Some of the things that teachers can do are described in the following pages. To those who are used to old methods, some of these things may appear totally bewildering or impossible. Surely, if the old methods were working fine, we would not need new ones. We need not just use new methods but a totally new perspective because the old methods are not working well.

It is important to start with books — rather than with flash cards, charts, or wooden letters — because it is books that we want children to be able to read ultimately. Other materials, such as charts and cards, may be occasionally useful, but they cannot create the strong and sustained motivation for learning to read that books can create. Nor can the child's mastery over such materials give the sense of accomplishment that the ability to read a book can give. But let us first be clear, what kind of books we are talking about...

Having books in the class (not just in the school) is of course good and useful, but it is no substitute for making books. The best reading material that children can have for learning to read is what their teacher prepares for them, both individually and collectively. The activities we have discussed so far (i.e. telling and reading stories, talking about pictures, singing poetry) will provide the basic resource for the material that the teacher is going to produce. The raw material, i.e. paper, will depend on what is available. If children have copybooks, these can surely become proper 'books' in the sense explained below. If the teacher or school can afford to buy loose paper, both ordinary paper and the stronger drawing paper, it will add to the possibilities.

The starting point can be found anywhere around the age of five, and we must remember that all children in a class can never start reading at the same time or progress at the same pace. Variations can be quite striking. Some children may show great interest and capability at five, and they will master reading skills by the time they are seven, whereas some children will continue to have difficulties when they are eight. The teacher who is in touch with her children will not worry about such different pacing. All she must do is to reflect on the progress that each child is making and the special difficulties that some may be facing. This is a challenging task; in some situations, where the number of children is large, it may be impossible. In such a case, only a limited accomplishment can be imagined.

Out of the talk generated by the various activities relating to stories, pictures, and poems, choose a word or sentence for each child, and write it in clear handwriting on the child's copy book or a sheet of paper. It is important that the word or sentence should represent the story or picture which created the context for talk. This is the only way to ensure that it will carry some immediate meaning for the children. Read aloud what you have written for each child. Then ask the child to copy it below or to write over it. When you write a new word or sentence for the child to read everyday, always look back at the previous 'texts', asking the child to read them, reading yourself when the child faces difficulty. And each day, as you sit with the child to write a new sentence and to listen to the old ones, remember to extend the older texts by talking about them. For example, if an old text was about a dog, ask one or two questions and make one or more remarks about where the dog went or where he is this morning. Finally, don't bother to correct minor mistakes in the child's reading of these little texts that you have created. For example, if the sentence 'rain came' is read as 'rain comes', don't correct such an error, for after all the error does not damage the meaning.

Each copybook in the class will gradually become a book of ideas or stories. As you look at the child's writing below the text you write each day, you will notice that the shapes of different letters vary in terms of difficulty for the child. Some letters or signs require special practice, and such practice can be done on the same page, as many times as necessary. The ultimate aim is that the child becomes proficient in the writing and recognition of each letter in the alphabet of the language you are working with...

Writing is a kind of talk. As we write, we communicate with someone although most often the person we are communicating with is not present in front of us. At the same time it is true that we do a lot of writing simply to preserve something — a piece of information, an idea, a memory. But even in this role, writing can be seen as talk — with oneself. If I write about my experiences of this day in a diary, I will be preserving these experiences, most probably with the hope that I would myself like to read about them again someday.

As teachers, then, we must introduce writing to young children as a form of talk. By the time children come to school for the first time they are already capable of talking with confidence with a variety of people on a variety of topics. Their 'sense of audience' has started to grow. This sense is very useful for learning to write, but they will need to apply it to an audience who may not always be present. Some kind of audience may of course be present, such as the teacher or other children and one self. It is the job of the teacher to ensure that children see writing as an act of addressing someone.

Let us be clear that we want something very different from what is happening at present. Millions of young children are being taught writing as a mechanical skill. It starts with teaching them the shapes of letters in the alphabet. Children are asked to copy each letter dozens of times, and the teacher inspects the shape of the letter they produce. It takes several weeks in many schools to cover the entire alphabet in this manner. During this long time, learning to write loses all sense of purpose in the child's view. Later on when children are asked to write words, and still later to compose sentences, they look upon the teacher to tell them what to write. In short, they do not see writing as a means to say something. They see it as a ritual or drill that their teacher has taught them to perform.

Now if we want to depart from this situation, we must make sure that we present writing as an extension of talk... Talk offers an opportunity to sort things out for an audience, and this is what makes it so important for the teaching of writing.

The first thing, then, is to ensure that before writing is introduced to a group of children, they must all be capable of talking with confidence about their life and the things happening around them. What this means is that these children must have

(i) the desire to share their experience and perceptions; and
(ii) the ability to narrate one's experience or present one's view.

These children are ready to learn writing. However, a lot more is necessary before they can start writing words and sentences.

Writing any language involves making complicated shapes on paper. It requires acute perception and memory of subtle differences in the tiny shapes of individual letters of the alphabet. It also requires the ability to use 'abstract symbols' to convey ideas or feelings. Letters of the alphabet are abstract symbols. They are abstract inasmuch as they carry no pictorial similarity with the sounds they convey. For example, the shape of the letter 'A' has no particular reason to have the sound value of 'A'. We just accept it as 'A'. The child who wants to write English must accept 'A' as 'A' and use it only where 'A' is appropriate, either in combination with other letters or independently (in the sense of 'one'). In other words, he must get totally accustomed to a number of such arbitrary symbols.

The abilities mentioned above cannot develop in a day. The best way to develop them is by giving children the opportunity to draw and paint regularly. Few schools might have the money to spend on buying drawing paper and colours for all the children. But perhaps a lot of schools can organize drawing and painting with the help of the following material:

- pieces of charcoal, chalk, slate pencils..., and red sandstone...;
- other kinds of locally available colour;
- old newspaper, used paper sheets, old copybooks or any other paper;
- plastic or tin cups or boxes.

...

At what point or age we can start teaching how to write is a decision that every teacher must make according to her assessment of the children she is working with. A good criterion for deciding is whether the children have developed reasonable amount of flexibility and control in their hand and finger movement through drawing and other activities. Children who have been exposed to books or other forms of reading material may themselves demand opportunities to write. This will make the teacher's task easier. When children demand something, it is a sure sign that they want to do it at that point. It may be that the task proves too hard, so the demand is withdrawn after some time. But it will surely be made again after a few days. This is how children encounter and master a lot of things, and the case of writing is no different.

When you have decided to start teaching how to write, the first thing to do is to *ask children* to tell you what you should write about. If you have been using the verb 'write' in your conversation with children, they will have no difficulty understanding what you mean. But if the children do not know what you want, you can proceed differently by asking for names of things, such as: animals they admire, things they like to eat, things that move, things they are afraid of, and so on. You can tell them that you will write one word on every child's copybook or on the floor, and so every child must give you a different word to write. Ask children to copy this word just below where you have written it or trace over it first.

The floor is an excellent space as a resource for learning to write. It allows you to write in big letters, and is a lot cheaper since the only thing you have to buy is chalk or charcoal, or some other local variant. The only problem that the floor presents is the need to wash it afterwards. If you can involve children in washing it at the end of the day, you can achieve very high levels of motivation for learning to write. Some parents may oppose the involvement of children in washing the floor, and you will have to decide what to do with their opposition. These are, of course, not the only ways to start. Those working with children will have heard of several approaches, the most common being that of starting by teaching how to write letters of the alphabet. Whether one uses the blackboard to write out the letters in large size, or cuts them in cardboard, or asks children to copy them from their primer — one thing we must keep in mind is that *the alphabet has no meaning, and therefore excessive or isolated emphasis on the alphabet can discourage children from seeing writing as a means of meaningful communication*. However, the alphabet can be fruitfully introduced after the teacher has established several strong bridges between words and meaning.

There can be many ways to incorporate the alphabet in early writing without teaching it in a mechanical fashion. For example, you can maintain a long list of words, and present a small selection of those that start with the same letters. Draw children's attention to this fact, and then ask them to spot more similar letters. Each time you organize this kind of activity, you can ask children to review the words they had seen last time. As you gradually build up their stock of commonly used words, you can begin to sort them out according to different characteristics (e.g. length, part of speech, content, etc.) and paste up words that belong to one category on the wall. There is no point pasting them up so high that only you can see them clearly. I would not have mentioned this if I had not visited many schools where pictures and charts were stuck far above the reach of children. Any material which is placed too high for children to see is both useless and insulting to them.

The real challenge of teaching how to write starts *after* children have mastered the basic skills involved in writing. The challenge consists of developing in children

(i) a sense of audience, and
(ii) the desire to convey.

To achieve this dual purpose, the teacher will have to keep a long-term perspective in mind while organising every little activity. Once again, the teacher must remember that the sense of audience and the desire to convey are relevant for both writing and talk. So, any activity that involves writing will benefit from the opportunity to talk, and vice-versa...

Having something to convey depends on several aspects of the child's personality, perhaps the most important aspect being confidence in one's own perceptions. A child who has never been asked to talk about what he has seen, or a child whose narration of events has always been criticised or ignored is unlikely to have developed confidence in his own perceptions. Such a child is also unlikely to feel excited about conveying something. The usual response of such a child to an invitation to talk or write is: 'I've nothing to say'. The child may not say this; but by asking the teacher to tell him what to write he will show that he has nothing of his own to say. If you are working with such children, your job will be doubly challenging, for you will have to rebuild their confidence in themselves, in the validity of their view of the world.

31. *Lessons in Milking and Math*

Catalina Laserna

From Ross, J. and V. Bergum (eds), *Through the Looking Glass: Children and Health Promotion*. Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association, 1990 (77-8, 94).

We begin with a puzzle: children from rural areas of Colombia become competent in a wide variety of tasks around the household, solving problems and dealing with complex situations that arise. Yet in the government school, these same children seem to learn with great difficulty.

The differences in learning became particularly evident to me as I carried out fieldwork in San Juan — an Indian, peasant community in the south of Colombia. There, scarce resources have made labour-intensive methods of land utilization imperative for survival under conditions of acute land shortage, increased deforestation, and erosion of the soil. In this community, which is characterized by a strong work ethic, time is not to be wasted! Children have always learned from very early on to partake of the work load of their domestic unit.

In contrast, while daily attendance at school is customary, students seem to have difficulty understanding what is taught. Only a small fraction of the students who begin primary school complete the five years offered by the local school. As one dropout student put it: *"I have a hard head, 'books' are not for me. In school I was just wasting time. I better earn my living with 'the shovel'."*

This marked difference between the effectiveness of one type of educational form over the other provided the key stimulus to undertake an investigation of how the organization of knowledge and skills and the transmission process of the domestically based *chore curriculum* and the school-based *academic curriculum*, could account for the difference in the effectiveness of the two approaches.

To compare and contrast these two curricula, we asked: what constitutes "lessons" in each of these two domains of interaction. In this paper, we shall contrast between "lessons" concerned with learning to "milk" and those with learning to do "math" in San Juan.

In terms of the differences, milking and math exemplify the "ideal" characteristics of embedded and formal teaching as math is not taught at home, nor is milking taught in the school. In addition, they are associated with different levels of abstraction: while milking is a concrete, manual skill, mathematical problem solving is associated with higher levels of abstraction.

In terms of their similarities, however, both involve learning to master a set of procedures. As procedures or algorithms, milking and math are both made up of a series of steps which the novice/student needs to master. In other words, as the novice has to learn to *do something*, control over the procedure needs to be transferred from the expert to the novice. In milking as in math, the expert must begin by helping the novice extensively in carrying out the procedure.

Joan B. Stone

Understanding mathematics as socially constructed is not a common outcome of conventional schooling. The symbols and rules of school mathematics hold a mystery for many of us that denies their human creation. Yet it is understanding that those symbols and rules have been created by us that is essential to our understanding of mathematics. The symbols and rules have emerged through our reflection on the world in which we act. In the same way that the mother reflects on the act of milking and constructs a scaffold of those reflections for her daughter, those of us who teach mathematics need to reflect on our own actions in the world. Mathematics has evolved because of a need that people have to communicate consistently and accurately with one another about relationships in the physical world. Unfortunately, the reason for the communication often is lost in the pursuit of consistency and accuracy, and we have a teacher who insists on correct use of words like *minuend* instead of asking students why they would ever want to subtract anyway. How much better mathematics instruction might be if it were situated in the daily lives of children and teachers. As Saxe[1] has suggested, "What comes out of the accumulating research on out-of-school practices is the view that mathematics learning is not limited to the formal algorithmic procedures passed down by mathematicians to individuals via school. Mathematics learning occurs as well during participation in cultural practices as children and adults attempt to accomplish pragmatic goals."

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[1] Saxe, G., "Candy Selling and Math Learning", *Educational Researcher*, 1988, 17 (6), 14-21.

32. *African Mathematics*

A. Babs Fafunwa

"School is Other People", *UNESCO Courier*, May 1978.

African children and adolescents learn the geography and history of their community. They know their local hills and valleys like the backs of their hands; they know where the land is fertile and where it is barren. They know when to expect rain and when to expect drought. They know the right times to hunt and fish. In every family the old people are teachers of local history. The songs of praise which often commemorate great events enrich the oral tradition, creating an experience which it is difficult to forget.

Botany and zoology are the subjects of both theoretical and practical lessons, in which special attention is paid to local plants and animals. Where animals are both a source of danger and a means of livelihood, their behaviour is another important subject of study.

Proverbs and riddles are exceptional wit-sharpeners, and are used to teach the child to reason and to take decisions.

Yoruba mathematics are particularly interesting. According to C.A. Taiwo, a Nigerian educator, "The Yoruba have created their own system of arithmetic and use a wide range of real-life situations to develop skills of numeracy. At a very early age, Yoruba children learn to count with the aid of objects, rhymes and games, both at home and in the fields.

"The use of cowrie shells for currency offers good practice in counting. The Yoruba have a different name for every number, whatever its size. The name itself may be long and complicated, but the meaning is precise, and no number is too large or too small to be deciphered by a Yoruba".

On the subject of cardinal and ordinal numbers, Taiwo observes: "The Yoruba understand the concepts, just as they understand the mechanisms of certain fractions, of addition, subtraction and multiplication. Eleven is *one-plus-ten*; fifteen is *twenty-minus-five*, forty-three is *three-and-twice-twenty*".

The Nupe of Nigeria have a similar system, which is elaborate, lucid, practical and unlimited in its application. According to S.F. Nadel, author of *A Black Byzantium: The Kingdom of Nupe in Nigeria*, "A number such as 3,600,000 is expressed as 'two-thousand-times-eighteen-hundred', or — in greater detail — 'two-thousand-times-two-hundred-times-nine' ... Four hundred is 'two-hundred-times-two', and so on...". The same author writes: "The area of farms is measured by the number of heaps of yams they can produce. Volumes are expressed in 'liquid' or 'dry' measures, the units being calabashes, gourds and — in more recent times — tin cups and tin cans." Most Nigerian tribes use similar systems of measurement. Africans also have fun with their mathematics in games of skill, such as the "Ayo" game where players must outwit their opponents in addition, subtraction, multiplication and division.

Some educators have come to believe that certain aspects of traditional African education should be integrated into the modern system, and have begun to work along these lines. This is a field which should be given priority in all developing countries.

BASIC SKILLS

33. *Perception and Concept Formation*

Redd Barna, Sri Lanka Programme

What's Inside? Sri Lanka: Redd Barna, 1989, (38-42).

In general, the attention span of the children [in the street children programme] is very short. At first it was even difficult to get them to concentrate on an activity for more than 5 to 10 minutes at a time. Their patience is limited and, like most children, they want to finish everything they do in a hurry. The first part of a handicraft task may be done well and the second in a rush. Recognizing this, the staff vary the activities continuously. Still, work is often disrupted by brawls or quarrels among the children. We maintain that a reduction in the number of fights per week is a reliable indicator of progress in our socializing work with the children. Slowly, they are developing some control over their emotions. The staff have found time to plot the progress.

The children have a vague concept of time and the passing of time. Even the borders of day and night are blurred. They fall asleep wherever and whenever they are tired. Except for the compelling need to meet the lorries at the market in the early morning to earn their day's bread, the children do not keep track of time. Asked how long he had been away in prison, one older boy was annoyed with himself for not being able to tell us. He decided then and there to learn to count so the next time he could tell us the exact number of days! Reflecting on his time in prison, he said, "I didn't like it there because I didn't learn anything." He prefers to come to the centre. The staff have found this memory exercise to be helpful: They ask the children to tell them what they have done and then ask them to explain when they have done it.

The children do not have clear spatial concepts. They cannot assess distance and have only vague notions of how important places or buildings are placed in relation to each other in Colombo. They have a fairly clear mind-map of the nearest neighbourhood in Pettah, the temple, the market, the fountain at Galle Face Green where they sometimes bathe, but they have difficulty in pointing out the direction in which a place is located. Understandably, they are not familiar with maps or their use and cannot relate them to even their own neighbourhood reality. This type of abstraction must be acquired through formal instruction.

Always at the forefront of our children's minds is the issue of food. Although they know how to identify specific foods, they are not able to classify them into groups. The children know names such as pumpkin, tomato, beef, chicken, or chilli but not categories such as fruit, vegetable, meat and poultry.

Since many have had very little formal school or never been exposed to it, it is not surprising they did not know abstract concepts for classes of similar items. When we work with our children, it is important to understand this in order to communicate and develop relevant content.

The children have problems listening attentively to what the staff are teaching them. Over time as they gain more emotional and physical self-control and gain some sense of stability and identity with the school, we feel they will be able to develop this skill. In fact, towards the end of 1988, the staff have observed greater concentration and listening capacities among the children and are able to plan for longer lesson periods in 1989 as a result. We are attempting to use radio and cassettes as a method in training the children to learn to listen. But this is in its infancy and there is difficulty in locating suitable material.

When the children hear pop songs, the music goes directly into their muscles and they start dancing. But they do not seem to remember many of the words. One day the staff played some classical music on a taperecorder, the kids said, "Oh, we are fed up with these sad songs!" Without our knowledge, they chipped in together and for 30 rupees bought a pop-cassette, proudly asking to play it instead. After that, they took some initiative in tidying up neatly after themselves, which was a little unusual at the time.

In the drawing and colouring activities, the children respond more to colour than to form or content. Some have motoric problems and very little dexterity in their hands and fingers. They can hardly hold a pencil and their drawing is unstructured. With a little guidance though, they pick up the skill very quickly. With great difficulty are the children able to fold a paper so that it fits nicely together in a square. Among the younger children especially, the concept 'yours' and 'mine' is weakly differentiated or non-existent. Consequently, there is a lot of confusion over whose book is whose. It seems as if any book will do and the concept is not of any particular use in their immediate daily existence.

We understand that particularly children born and raised on the streets may experience a discomfort akin to claustrophobia when placed in houses or buildings for even a brief period of time. This reaction may be for emotional reasons and/or the imposed spatial limitation compared to the openness of the street. Similarly, we have observed that some children cannot sit down. They stand or kneel to carry out their assignments in class.

The children appear to have a vague conception of age. When asked their age, they may give different answers on different occasions. We feel this is not simply because they do not know how to count. Equally, it may be that the children have not encountered experiences where people's appearance has been associated with numerical age and time. For example, the children do not connect 60 with being old, which it would be in this culture. Also, there are no aunts and uncles in their lives leaning over solicitously asking, "How old are you now?" There are no or few adults in their lives who contribute to a concept of themselves as 'children'. Even more rarely would the concept of a child or children be construed positively to them. There is little praise and positive feedback in the daily life of a street child.

On the other hand, counting is learned quickly for those engaged in simple exchanges before they can buy the next meal. Some of the boys sell candles near the church. They buy the candles in bulk for 10 cents and sell them for a little less than 15 cents or 7 candles for 1 rupee to make it easy. One of the boys who had never been to school did not bat an eyelash when he was asked, "Give me candles for 3 rupees." In a wink, he produced 21 candles.

Part 2: DEBATES

Within the policy field, the two main debates about child work have centred on two aspects. The first is the relationship between work and education and the extent to which child labour can be eradicated through the imposition of compulsory education laws. The second is the argument that families have children because of their labour requirements and that child labour can be abolished by eliminating economic pressures.

The first section in this part of the book provides a review of changes in policy attitudes at an international level. The last two sections present some of the classical views in both the compulsory education and fertility debates, both of which have been largely conducted on the basis of academic research.

DEBATES

Intergovernmental Action

It is not only concerned individuals and welfare organizations that have been involved in campaigns to combat the economic exploitation of children. International governmental organizations have also taken an interest in this issue throughout most of the twentieth century. Many intergovernmental agreements have been drawn up and signed, so many in fact that it is often difficult even for experts in the field to know about them all, much less for project staff to find out which agreement is relevant to the children with whom they work. The following description of the main agreements is designed to clarify some of the more important issues.

34. *Intergovernmental Action: A Compilation*

Judith Ennew[1]

Instruments for Securing the Rights of Children

(i) The *'Declaration of Geneva'*, drafted in 1923 by Eglantyne Jebb, who founded the Save the Children movement, endorsed in 1924 by the League of Nations and revised in 1948.

The 1924 version has this to say about child work, in the fourth of five points it makes:

> *(1924 Declaration of Geneva)*
>
> The child should be put in a position to earn a livelihood and should be protected against every form of exploitation.

In the 1948 version, there is no specific mention of education, apart from the need to re-educate 'the maladjusted child' (the fourth of seven points). However, Article VI deals specifically with child workers:

> *(1948 Declaration of the Rights of the Child)*
>
> THE CHILD must enjoy the full benefits provided by social welfare and social security schemes, must receive a training which will enable it, at the right time, to earn a livelihood, and must be protected against every form of exploitation.

(ii) The *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* proclaimed by the United Nations in 1959 had ten principles. Those dealing with education and economic exploitation were as follows:

> *(1959 United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child)*
>
> Principle 7: The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the elementary stages, he shall be given an education which will promote his general culture, and enable him, on the basis of equal opportunity, to develop his individual judgement, and his sense of moral and social responsibility, and to become a useful member of society.
>
> The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his education and guidance; that responsibility lies in the first place with his parents.
>
> The child shall have full opportunity for play and recreation, which should be directed to the same purposes as education; society and the public authorities shall endeavour to promote his enjoyment of this right.
>
> Principle 9: The child shall be protected against all forms of neglect, cruelty and exploitation. He shall not be the subject of traffic in any form.
>
> The child shall not be admitted to employment before an appropriate minimum age; he shall in no case be caused or permitted to engage in any occupation or employment which would prejudice his health or education, or interfere with his physical, mental or moral development.

(iii) The *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child*, adopted by the General Assembly in 1989, provides for the first time a treaty that is legally binding on states that sign and ratify it (who are called 'States Parties'). It took nearly ten years for a Working Group set up by the UN Commission on Human Rights to draft the Convention, and in the process ten principles were expanded to a total of 54 articles. Some of the ideas behind the principles concerning education and economic exploitation in the Declaration of Geneva and the Declaration of the Rights of the Child are still present in the Convention, but as separate articles. For example, the principle of the best interests of the child is now enshrined in Article 3, while Articles 34 to 36 deal with sexual exploitation, sale and traffic in children and other, unspecified, forms of exploitation. Education and economic exploitation are covered by

Articles 28 and 32, both of which are dealt with in a far more comprehensive manner than was possible in earlier declarations.

(1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child)

Article 28

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall, in particular:

(a) Make primary education compulsory and available and free to all;

(b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education and offering financial assistance in case of need;

(c) Make higher education available to all on the basis of capacity by every appropriate means;

(d) Make educational and vocational information and guidance available and accessible to all children;

(e) Take measures to encourage regular attendance at schools and the reduction of drop-out rates;

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that school discipline is administered in a manner consistent with the child's human dignity and in conformity with the present Convention.

3. States Parties shall promote and encourage international co-operation in matters relating to education, in particular with a view to contributing to the elimination of ignorance and illiteracy throughout the world and facilitating access to scientificand technical knowledge and modern teaching methods. In this regard, particular account shall be taken of the needs of developing countries.

Article 32

1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.

2. States Parties shall take legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to ensure the implementation of the present article. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States Parties shall in particular:

(a) Provide for a minimum age or minimum ages for admission to employment;

(b) Provide for appropriate regulation of the hours and conditions of employment;

(c) Provide for appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective enforcement of the present article.

Minimum Age Legislation and the ILO

The "other international instruments" mentioned in Article 32 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child are the minimum age conventions and recommendations of the International Labour Office (ILO), which is a specialized agency of the United Nations, although it began work earlier as part of the League of Nations. Based in Geneva, it deals with workers' rights with respect to pay and conditions.

Child workers have been on the agenda of the ILO since 1919 when the first international Convention on minimum age established 14 years as the age at which a child could start work. This was raised to 15 in 1937, and subsequent conventions dealt with specific dangerous occupations. In 1973 all previous conventions were replaced with Convention 138, which applies to all kinds of work and fixes the minimum age for employment at 15 years, while making provision for certain types of employment "likely to jeopardize the health, safety or morals of young persons" to be prohibited to those under 18 years of age. Governments tend not to support ILO efforts in child labour either financially or by signing and ratifying conventions. By 1994 only 46 member states had signed and ratified Convention 138.

The initial strategy was to ban child workers from formal employment in mines and factories, with less interest in family enterprises, particularly in agriculture. Child work within the family, such as helping on a peasant farm, was viewed as part of learning about adult life. The new formulation of exploitative child labour, given in the World Labour Report 1992 (see page 14) focuses on the hazards for children rather than on structures within the labour process or workforce.

In any case, by the early 1980s the ILO recognized that banning children from the formal workforce without providing alternative forms of income for them and their families simply drove the children into worse forms of employment in illegal sweated workshops, street trades and other forms of informal sector activity. It is also now recognized that children can be exploited when they work alongside parents and the family unit is paid at piece rates, as on some plantations, and also that some families exploit their children.

In the 1990s the ILO recognizes that to eradicate child labour is a long-term goal for underdeveloped countries and that short-term measures must be taken to protect children in the workplace and provide appropriate alternative forms of earning a living for those who work in the most hazardous conditions. A factor in this has been financial support from the German government, which has enabled the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) to be established to set up rehabilitation and alternative income projects in developing countries. IPEC concentrates on target groups most at risk: children in hazardous work, children under forced labour, especially vulnerable children (under 12 years old and girl children) as well as children living and working on the streets outside families. The existence of IPEC has stimulated the ILO as a whole to keep child labour policies and programmes under constant review.

The ILO is not the only international body to take an interest in the exploitation of child labour. The *United Nations Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery* (1956), Article 1 (d) refers to the need to abolish exploitative child labour. The *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, Article 10 (para 3) and the *European Social Charter* both mention the need to abolish harmful child labour. In 1982 a report was submitted to the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which stressed the need for a global campaign strategy against the exploitation of child labour, singling out child prostitutes and domestic workers for special mention and calling for increased public information, greater trades union involvement, and further efforts in education and training.[2] A year later, the Director General of the ILO made a similar plea for global action and cooperation, as well as the integration of child labour policies into development projects of all kinds.[3] Somewhat later, the Commission on Human Rights mandated a Special Rapporteur to report on the sale of children, child prostitution and pornography, extending this to 1995.

Reports and conventions cannot change the situation of child economic exploitation unless they are backed up by the political will of governments and implemented in an economic environment in which it is no longer necessary for children to work. It is increasingly recognized that minimum age legislation is difficult to apply and, without social and economic changes to support it may lead to more widespread illegal work and greater exploitation. Yet it cannot be argued that such legislation is useless and irrelevant. Even though the simple act of passing a statute or ratifying a convention has never helped a single exploited child unless supporting welfare and educational policies are also implemented, the standards set by minimum age legislation are important in their own right. Nor is it sufficient to claim, as some governments do, that it is impossible to implement minimum age standards because of the economic situation of the country. There are always some measures that can be taken towards the progressive implementation of legislation and the eventual elimination of the economic exploitation of children. In the words of the former Director General of the ILO:

> To dismiss in a cavalier way ... the potential idea of child protective laws, or to invoke the pretext of poverty and underdevelopment for the continued transgression of universally accepted values is to accept the perpetuation of universally condemned abuses.[4]

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[1] Parts of this section are an updated version of *Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances: The Exploitation of Child Labour*, a study prepared for UNICEF by the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights, December 1994.

[2] Boudhiba, A., *The Exploitation of Child Labour*. New York: United Nations, 1982.

[3] Blanchard, F., *Report of the Director General*, International Labour conference, 69th session. Geneva: ILO, 1983.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 20.

DEBATES

Compulsory Education

According to modern, Western ideas of childhood, children should be in school and not at work. Many commentators claim that, if governments would only pass and implement compulsory schooling laws, they could eliminate child labour. Others point out that this is a Western notion that does not take into consideration the realities of life in developing countries, where parents may be unemployed or unable to earn enough to support their families, with the result that children have to work in order to survive. Compulsory education alone is not enough, it is argued: what is needed is better employment opportunities for adults, with adequate wages together with welfare provision for those families that cannot support their children.

35. *Education Laws are the Best Child Labour Laws*

Alec Fyfe

Child Labour. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989 (15-6).

Education laws are the best child labour laws; and the single most important instrument for ensuring that children under 12 years of age do not work, is the expansion of primary education. Here much needs to be done to reduce class, gender, ethnic and regional disparities in access to education. The real economic cost of schooling to the poor must also be reduced. Education is a social right and the poor should not be disadvantaged by the direct and indirect costs of schooling. These costs include direct costs such as school fees, but also the additional costs of uniforms, materials and meals; though the most important cost for poor parents is the opportunity cost of sending to school children who could be contributing to the family budget. As child workers can contribute as much as 30 per cent to household incomes this illustrates how unrealistic and harmful attempts to abolish child work at a stroke would be in the absence of compensating income and employment adjustments and, of course, schools. In the short term, school feeding programmes and other measures could reduce the burden on poor families and make it more attractive to send their children to school rather than to work.

Without sufficient political will, issues to do with labour and human rights and the promotion of equal opportunities will easily be set aside. Enlightened public policy in this area will need careful nurturing from both inside and outside government. It is well known that the social ministries, such as education, labour, health and welfare, often become marginalized in policy and budgetary allocation debates. The reasons for this are obvious: social objectives are elusive and their economic returns are difficult to demonstrate; they are considered to be a heavy burden on the exchequer; and when they do not exist, they are not missed because the negative impact of inaction is often not felt immediately and dramatically, as for say a balance-of-payments problem. If social ministries are to exert greater influence on resource allocation their programmes must be designed to be cost-effective and to be seen to contribute to the attainment of multiple social goals. For example, the expansion of education and welfare programmes could be carried out in areas exhibiting a high level and incidence of child labour. Educational reforms could be linked to labour utilization patterns. For example, in many countries school calendars are still tied to colonial models but they could be adapted to suit household labour requirements during the planting and harvesting seasons. In this way, children could both attend school during slack periods and assist their families during peak labour periods. The same point has been made in connection with urban schools and the needs of street children.

36. *Indian Policies in Comparative Perspective*

Myron Weiner

The Child and the State in India. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991 (191-6).

There are a great many variations in how governments set about making education compulsory and enforcing child-labor laws. Legislative approaches differ between centralized and decentralized educational systems. There are also a great many variations in how many years of schooling are required, at what ages young people can enter the labor force, the allocation of educational resources, the machinery used to enforce the various laws, and so on. Nonetheless, there are some elements that are widely shared,from which lessons can be extracted. What follows is an enumeration of some of these lessons.

1. Compulsory-education laws usually precede child-labor laws, and their enforcement substantially reduces or eliminates child labor. The reason for this is that the enforcement of school laws, though by no means easy, has proven to be less difficult than the enforcement of child-labor laws. Local officials know their community, know who is not attending school, and have clout over poor parents. In contrast, factory inspectors make infrequent rounds and cannot inspect thousands of small shops, and employers, properly warned, are able to take evasive action. Businessmen can readily bribe factory inspectors, while poor parents lack the resources to bribe truant officers.

2. The decision to make education compulsory rests everywhere on the belief in the efficacy of mass education on the part of those who make, influence, and implement education policy. The notion of efficacy rests on a diverse set of arguments, some of which may be empirically questionable (the notion that mass education will reduce juvenile crime) and morally reprehensible (education as an instrument of ideological control by an authoritarian state), while others may meet with our approval (mass education to facilitate equality of opportunity), but it is essential that some such belief in the value of mass education be firmly held by governing elites. Without such a conviction authorities will not commit the resources necessary to establish a national system of elementary education nor will they make education compulsory.

3. Elementary education is not usually made compulsory until a large proportion of children are already enrolled in schools. Compulsory education is possible when the task is to enroll the last 10 percent to 20 percent of the school-age population, and when the need is largely to deal with the problem of retention. Prior to the introduction of compulsion, governments have usually put in place a national network of schools that are readily accessible to most rural children. Teachers have been trained and blackboards, books, and other supplies have been provided. However, in many low-income countries education has been made compulsory even when school buildings are poorly constructed, teachers inadequately trained, and educational materials of indifferent quality.

4. With the introduction of compulsion into the educational system (and often earlier) has come the establishment of a register of all children in the community. In some countries a system of birth registration preceded the introduction of compulsory schooling. Birth certificates are useful for the enforcement of all age-linked legislation, such as compulsory primary-school attendance, work permits for part-time employment, minimum-age requirements for full-time employment and marriage, and social-security benefits. For an effective system of enforcement, school authorities need to create registers with the names, birth dates, addresses, and the names of guardians of all children within the community, including those who have recently migrated into the community.

5. Compulsory education may be introduced into the entire country or selectively by state and local community. It is desirable, however, to introduce compulsory education for the entire country to facilitate enforcement and so that children who migrate from one community to another will not be handicapped. Politically, too, it is difficult to justify making education compulsory in some areas (usually urban centers) and not in others. Local authorities are also readily influenced by local businessmen, who prefer to keep education voluntary so that they can continue to recruit child labor. For these reasons, the decision to make education compulsory has generally been made either by state or central governments, not by local governments. When the authority to make education compulsory has been left to local governments, as was the case in England prior to 1880, the introduction of compulsory education has been a particularly prolonged process.

6. The successful enforcement of compulsory-education laws has required that attention be given to achieving universal enrollment of all school-age children and to ensuring that children are actually in attendance. Retention, not simply enrollment, has been essential. To prevent dropouts governments appoint attendance or truant officers to go to the homes of parents and guardians whose children fail to attend school. Attendance officers may be teachers, appointees of the local school board or the local government, or members of the local police department. They prepare enumeration registers, conduct house-to-house canvasses, check attendance records at schools, and visit the homes of children who have failed to attend class for several days or weeks. These officers employ persuasion to get truants to return to school, but they must be in a position to inform parents that the failure of their children to attend school for other than medical reasons is a violation of law and is subject to penalties. They should be able to go to judicial officers (a local magistrate or an administrative board) to issue notices against parents and guardians whose children have not attended school. When education is compulsory, parents who claim that their children should not be compelled to attend school because their assistance is needed at home, in the fields, or in the labor force are not accommodated.

7. It has been the widespread practice initially to introduce compulsory education for children ages six to ten or twelve, and only later to extend in phases the minimum age at which children are permit-

ted to leave school. Educational planners initially make education compulsory for the lower primary school, then extend it to the upper primary school, and finally to the high school. The phased extension of compulsory education provides school authorities with the necessary lead time to expand the schools to accommodate an increase in numbers. As authorities are faced with the need to expand the high schools, attention is then given to the issue of educational screening and vocationalization.

8. The legal minimum age for full-time employment is ordinarily matched to the minimum age at which children are permitted to leave school. The school-leaving age can be raised progressively at the same rate as the minimum age for admission to employment. If the school-leaving age is lower than the age of admission to employment, children are likely illegally to seek employment, and the enforcement of child-labor laws is rendered more difficult.

9. In many countries children who complete the minimum years of compulsory schooling are permitted to enter the work force only with a work permit. Proof of age and a medical certificate may also be required but are not sufficient. There are variations among countries as to which authorities can issue work permits — school boards, labor departments, local medical authorities, or the local police. All employers, including managers and owners of small businesses, restaurants, and cottage industries, are required to ask for a work permit from all young people they employ, and a register of such work permits may be made available to inspectors from the labor department. Failure to maintain such a register or to produce a copy of the work permit (or registration number) can subject employers to penalties.

10. While there are age and schooling requirements for entering any position in the labor force, there are often higher requirements for occupations that are considered physically or psychologically demanding or hazardous. The government may also permit children to engage in part-time paid employment in nonhazardous industries even before they have completed the compulsory years of schooling. But in such instances, work permits may be required and some form of registration by employers may be made mandatory, and punishable if ignored.

11. Inadequate ventilation, poor lighting, unsafe equipment, and toxic chemicals constitute a problem for all members of the labor force, irrespective of age or gender. But young people, by virtue of their inexperience, are often subject to greater risks, and there are some tasks for which they are physically and psychologically unprepared. For this reason, governments prohibit certain kinds of employment for young people or restrict the number of hours they can work, even for those who have completed the minimum years of schooling. But in a low-income country where conditions of employment are often primitive in many enterprises, it is exceedingly difficult for inspectors to impose special requirements where young people are employed. For enforcement reasons, therefore, it is the age and work permit requirements that are the centerpiece of an effective child-labor law, rather than special rules regarding conditions under which young people may work.

12. When education is made compulsory, schooling is provided free by the state. School authorities may also make textbooks free, provide uniforms, and deliver midday meals. Inoculations and other health benefits may be provided as well. These measures are intended to improve the health and well-being of children and, by reducing or eliminating the costs for parents, make it less likely that parents will try to remove their children from school. But these benefits are not a substitute for compulsion. Parents are obligated to send their children to school even if these benefits are not provided. Nor do governments compensate parents for the loss of income that they would otherwise have obtained had their children been allowed to work, although some advanced industrial countries do have a system of providing financial payments to enable parents and guardians to adequately provide for their children.

13. Part-time education may be available, but only for those who are beyond the minimum age of compulsory education. Part-time education permits those who attended the minimum years of schooling but failed to complete the standard years of schooling to continue their education; it enables young people to continue their education while they work; and it can provide skills and training not available in the formal education system. But to permit children below the minimum age to substitute part-time education for full-time education is to nullify compulsory-education laws.

14. Finally, once education is made compulsory, school authorities may take steps to enable and to motivate poor parents to obey the law. Social workers may help working mothers make arrangements for the care of preschool children, and factories and construction sites may provide crèches at the place of employment so that older siblings who must care for younger children can attend school. Girls may be placed in separate classes or even separate schools to accommodate the concerns of socially conservative parents. Above all, school officials must ensure that teachers are present every day, that blackboards, books, and other teaching aids are available, and that children are in fact learning reading, writing, and arithmetic. Low-quality education increases repetition and induces parents to withdraw their children from school.

There are, no doubt, exceptions to one or another of the items enumerated above, but collectively they constitute a policy for removing children from the labor force and placing them in schools.

The two key elements in this policy are linkages and sequences. The policy-pieces must fit together. Minimum-age laws and minimum-schooling laws must match. Age requirements and the content of nonformal part-time schooling must be linked to the formal educational system. Work permits issued by a labor department must be granted only after certification by the school to which the young person attended. Compulsory education laws must precede the enforcement of child-labor laws. The age requirement for entrance into the labor force must be raised only after the minimum years of schooling are increased. Minimum-schooling laws must be extended in phases.

The Politics of Doing Nothing

Since few people in India believe that education should be regarded as a duty, it is not surprising that there are no significant forces arrayed in favor of compulsory education. Some Indians have suggested that factory owners and other business proprietors constitute a "vested interest" that has stood in the way of enforcing child-labor laws, making education compulsory, agrarian reforms, irrigation, and rural development projects that would make it unnecessary for parents to send their children into the labor force. Of course, businessmen everywhere have often opposed the passage and enforcement of child-labor laws. Employers want low-wage, non-union, pliable workers, whether they be children, uneducated women, or migrants. Actually, in India the proprietors of large businesses have not opposed child-labor laws, for in the main they do not employ child labor. Indeed, one of the complaints of managers of large firms is that their labor force is not sufficiently educated, that too many workers are unable to read manuals or follow simple instructions written on machines. The chief beneficiaries of child labor are owners and managers of small businesses who either employ children directly or depend upon the low-cost products they can obtain by subcontracting to cottage industries that employ children. Owners of small businesses have considerable influence over legislators, and they invoke the Indian opposition to large companies and multinationals, and popular sympathy for the small "family-owned" cottage industries and small-scale firms, to oppose extension of child-labor laws. Indeed, as we have noted, some government officials do not regard the employment of children in cottage industries as child labor at all, for they do not consider the employment of children by parents or other relatives as "exploitation."

The opposition of parents is also cited in India as a reason for inaction. Again, the comparative evidence is that elsewhere many parents who send their children to work are opposed to compulsory-education laws that deprive them of the income of their children. Our historical survey and review of contemporary cases in the developing world suggest that state intervention depends not upon the attitudes of employers or parents, but rather upon the support provided by other groups in society and within the state. Outside of India, trade-union leaders, social workers, teachers, and religious leaders have been in the forefront of the movement toward protecting children from both employers and parents. Even more important, within the state apparatus itself there were officials who insisted upon making education compulsory: the military, which wanted a more educated and physically sound conscript army; the education bureaucracy, professionally committed to universal education and state leaders who envisioned mass education as essential to the propagation of a national ideology and political loyalty. There was also a new set of ideas about children: the belief that childhood as a time for schooling and playing should be extended from the children of the well-off to the children of the poor; that children had rights independent of parents, and that parents had duties toward children; that education for children was an intrinsic, not merely instrumental, good; and that a major alm of education was *apprendre apprendre*, as the French say, teaching children to learn how to learn, a notion that represented a new modern sensibility.

37. *The Indian Situation*

Dharma Kumar

"What Can We Do?", *Seminar*, 350, October 1988, New Delhi, (34-5).

It is possible that the best attack on child labour is an indirect one, that if one ensures that every child goes to school, it will become impossible to employ children on full time jobs. In a recent seminar Myron Weiner pointed out that this was what happened in the West. He made the very important point that the laws relating to schooling were easier to enforce than the factory laws, because employers could afford to pay bribes and parents could not, and also because it was easier to police the educational requirements. Teachers and school inspectors knew all the children in the neighbourhood and could tell whether they were attending school or not, whereas children who worked in a particular factory could come from many localities.

I am not sure how closely these considerations apply to India, but in any case, there is no real question of choice. Universal primary education is essential in itself, regardless of its effect on child labour, and there is no acceptable reason for our poor record in this matter. Even that good old standby, colonialism, will not do — other ex-colonies, and with a worse administrative infrastructure than ours, have done much better, Indonesia and Nigeria for example.

Some educationists and trade unionists have suggested a compromise between the needs for education and for child labour, that school hours be adjusted so as to make it possible to work and earn.

But the danger is that whenever there is a conflict, education will be sacrificed and not work. Either the child will not attend school at all, or he or she will be too tired to learn anything. Moreover, we should make it our objective to discourage long hours of work for children.

There are of course special cases. Helping on the family farm is one — it may be necessary to adjust school hours in the busy agricultural season. Again the children of skilled artisans may learn a useful trade by working with their parents. But in all such cases special care (such as frequent tests?) must be taken to ensure that the child is in fact receiving an education.

The new educational policy stresses non-formal and vocational education. These can undoubtedly be useful, but they need safeguards to ensure that we do not produce Indian variants of Dotheboys Hall: 'M-A-T-C-H-E-S, Matches; Go and dip the matches.' That these are not imaginary fears is suggested by the discrepancy between the figures of near-universal primary education given by the Planning Commission (as in the recent mid-term appraisal) and the reports of large scale child labour - the 5 year match dippers of Sivakasi, and nine-year-olds, who stoke furnaces or do other dangerous work for long hours in lock and bangle factories and elsewhere, not to mention gem polishers and hundreds of thousands of small restaurant boys and domestic servants, are surely not receiving any education.

38. *The Experience of China*

Irving Epstein

"Child Labour and Basic Education Provision in China", *International Journal of Educational Development*, 1993, 13 (3), (234-7).

Chinese views of compulsory education and the use of child labor share important similarities and significant differences with other cross-cultural cases. As is true of the India case, there is an extraordinary degree of official ambivalence directed toward the quality and utility of rural education efforts, as the poor quality of rural education itself is viewed as an important and logical explanation for drop-out and reliance upon child labor.[1] One Chinese author has gone so far as to distinguish between offering rural areas the opportunity to participate in compulsory education initiatives, as opposed to establishing a national commitment to universalize primary and middle school education for all children. The difference between compulsory and universal primary education is more than a semantic question, for the author considers the latter to be unfeasible and untenable before the former is implemented incrementally, over a long period of time.[2] Unlike Indian and other South Asian cases, reliance upon child labor does not seem to be viewed solely as a traditionally acceptable means of offering the family subsistence income, but is perceived to be a rational strategy in overcoming rural-urban disparity. In this respect, one cannot underestimate the negative effects agricultural decollectivization and the initiation of the household responsibility system have had upon rural education.

Since the early 1980s, the elimination of commune, brigade and production teams and their replacement with the township as the prime local administrative unit has exacerbated funding difficulties for rural schools, institutions that have no reliable, standardized and long-term funding mechanisms. Townships have not as of yet acquired the necessary political authority to collect educational taxes, rationally and equitably distribute revenues, maintain and operate schools, pay teachers a standard wage, etc.[3]

It would be irresponsible to claim that traditional forms of child labor did not exist during the formative years of the People's Republic. But our best evidence suggests that these practices were tempered by consistent efforts to expand primary schooling under the umbrella of the commune structure, through the 1970s.[4] The township has failed to acquire a degree of legitimacy commensurate with that afforded to the commune; as a result, a reliance upon child labor is quite visible and as has been noted, is promoted by changing rural conditions that are part of an international political economy.

In the absence of recognized formal lines of political authority and control, the cultivation of clientism and personalized relations between the cadre member and villager has become increasingly important.[5] At the same time, *guanxi* (personal connection) ties have a horizontal as well as vertical dimension, and are often enhanced through gift exchange or the promise of reciprocating valuable services. Since the initiation and enforcement of compulsory basic education policies demand a level of shared commitment that extends beyond the instrumental and informal character of rural politics, it is difficult to imagine how current educational inequities will be effectively redressed in the short term.[6]

The implications of the lessening of formal political authority in rural areas can be seen further in the increase in unofficial migration from rural to urban areas, a trend that naturally encourages the exploitation of surplus labor in coastal areas and Special Economic Zones, and has contributed to child labor excesses. At the same time, the household responsibility system, with its emphasis upon contracting with individual households for the production of a diversity of items: agricultural staples, cash crops as well as cottage industry goods, has allowed fortunate family units to excel in their role as economic producer, legitimizing short-term strategies aimed at facilitating personal economic gain, including the use of child labor.

It should be stressed that official arguments in favor of compulsory education speak of the policy in terms of its assumed relation to national economic development, rather than as an inherent children's right or state obligation. The assumption itself is questionable. Western European countries, for example, had begun to industrialize successfully before compulsory educational laws were enforced effectively, and while it is true that Western European countries had relatively high literacy rates as their populous had accepted the concept of universal mass education prior to industrialization, the spread of mass education can be attributed to predominantly political and religious imperatives rather than economic considerations. The implementation of compulsory education was a function of state formation rather than a vehicle for industrialization *per se.*[7] If one examines the more recent cases of newly industrialized East Asian societies, one discovers that although they did invest heavily in education in the 1950s, their investment did not have an impact until the 1970s after their initial industrial successes, when the need to develop skill-intensive industries requiring workers to have a firm educational background became more pronounced. Thus, in assessing the reasons for the East Asian success story, Papanek[8] argues that heavy investment in unskilled labor, government intervention in unskilled labor, government intervention in the domestic market, strong incentives to compete in the world market, and high returns to investors that were expedited through limiting the traditional degree of arbitrary decision-making, were the most important factors in explaining these countries' robust economic performance.[9]

China's Special Economic Zones, the Pearl Delta region of Guangdon Province, and affluent coastal regions are practising policies that reiterate Papanek's first point: the use of cheap unskilled labor can generate real economic gain, but in the Chinese case, at great human cost. If the use and abuse of child labor, and inadequate basic education provision are global difficulties, the Chinese case is unique in that the presence of these problems can be attributed, at least in part, to the introduction of specific economic policies rather than simply the persistence of traditional behaviours. The result is one where children are exposed to exploitation and harm in economically vibrant as well as impoverished areas.

What is China Borrowing from the West?

The broad outline of China's development strategy has been clear for over a decade, as authorities have assumed that growth necessitates the perpetuation and acceptance of a certain amount of social inequality. Even after the post-Tiananmen retrenchment, resulting in greater governmental interference in the market, the fundamental assumptions of the earlier economic reforms have been reaffirmed in the government's Eighth Five Year Plan.[10] But commodity socialism has meant more than relying upon freer market mechanisms to induce growth with accompanying economic and social inequality; it has meant that the processes that contribute to dehumanizing social practice are rationalized and deemed acceptable. Increasingly, frequent incidents of child labor exploitation, school non-attendance and drop-out must be viewed as part of a larger social environment that has witnessed increases in female infanticide, bonded labor, prostitution, and even the promotion of eugenics campaigns that argue in favor of the forced sterilization of retarded children.[11]

This is occurring within a larger context, where China's largely successful effort to join the world economic order has been accompanied by efforts to open the open door to the developed world, with respect to development aid, research and educational assistance, and scholarly exchange. Certainly, the price that China pays for increased access to Western technological prowess is its tolerance of greater social and economic domestic inequality, perpetuated by uneven foreign investment. But if the case of child labor is representative, strong Western messages that excuse these harsh social practices are being transmitted across international borders with forceful salience too.

In that regard, American and, to a lesser extent, Western responses to China's social problems are quite interesting. There was a tremendous amount of self-congratulation during the 1980s, as China's changing economic policies and accompanying educational reforms were not only applauded but were offered as reasons for the country's successful economic development. In the aftermath of the Tiananmen massacre, economic reform and educational exchange were depicted as contributing factors that implicitly raised the issues of political reform and liberalization that were so clearly articulated by the student protestors themselves. Yet, with the exception of population policies and their relation to abortion issues, larger social problems including the exploitation of child labor and inadequate provision for basic education have received less attention. I believe that there are reasons for this reticence.

It should be initially noted that the solicitation and exploitation of cheap labor on the part of Western investors is not new, and in fact is part of an international phenomenon affecting women who are placed in gender segregated, low-skilled, low-wage jobs, that form the backbone of electronics, semi-conductor, and similar newly developed industries.[12] Given the natural ties between gender and child labor that have been mentioned, it is not surprising that children are being subjected to the same abuses confronting young women internationally. Nor is it surprising that Western investors would commit financial resources to Chinese work settings, knowing that the country lacks coherent labor legislation designed to create minimally acceptable working conditions for employees of all ages. Western involvement in child prostitution and sexual abuse in Southeast Asia, encouraged through the tourist trade and the strong presence of the American military in the Philippines, further demonstrates a lack of sensitivity when contributing to activities that harm the welfare of children. To the extent that there is Western involvement in the exploitation of child labor in China, that involvement must be seen as part of a larger phenomenon.

It is clear, for example, that Americans historically have expressed an unhealthy ambivalence about the obligations of the state with respect to children's issues. In attempting to balance the interests of the child with those of the family, we have traditionally neglected to view the preservation of children's rights and the protection of their interests as being inherently obligatory. State intervention for the purpose of protecting children, justified under the doctrine of *parens patriae*, has been applied only when parental behavior is perceived to exhibit extreme deficiency, resulting in stigmatization for both parent and child when intervention occurs. The creation of state institutions designed to protect children: schools, juvenile justice structures, etc. was facilitated without regard to the material conditions affecting family life, so that the principle of non-interference in the private behaviours of families or the private economy in which they operated would be maintained.[13] Instead of viewing the presentation of child welfare as a state obligation, we blame parents for their families' impoverishment and dysfunction. The result is that we continue to neglect the needs of the children, as is evidenced by their current economic standing. Thus, it is difficult to argue against the use of child labor in China when our own record of protecting children is so mediocre.

The terms under which cultural exchange occurs are typically subject to the negotiation of both donor and recipient countries, yet the actual patterns of cultural borrowing are almost always selective. Westerners must therefore ask themselves what open door legacies will remain when the first two decades of post-Mao China are completed? In formulating an answer to that question, it becomes difficult to distinguish between the image of New York City's homeless children surviving in their own garbage in dilapidated welfare hotels, as so aptly described by Jonathan Kozol[14] and that of underage Chinese children, working 24 hour shifts to make Christmas toys for their Western counterparts, in unsafe factories that are veritable firetraps. Both images highlight the lack of respect afforded children in each society, and although the images represent extreme cases, one wonders whether the inability and unwillingness to guarantee children their fundamental rights will be the salient Western value that will be permanently transmitted to China, as the twenty-first century approaches.

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[1] Weiner, M., 1991, 77-108 (see Reading 36).

[2] Wu, M., "Differentiate between Universal and Compulsory Education", *Guangming Ribao*, translated in *FIBS-CHI-89-105*, 2 June 1989, 28-9.

[3] Pepper, S., *China's Education Reform in the 1980s: Policies, Issues and Historical Perspectives*. Berkeley: University of California Institute of East Asian Studies, 1990; Robinson, J., "Minban Schools in Deng's Era", in Epstein, I. (ed) *Chinese Education: Problems, Policies and Prospects*, New York: Garland, 1991, 163-171.

[4] Parish, W. and Whyte, M.K., *Village and Family in Contemporary China*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978, 78-85; Pepper, 1990, *op. cit*, pp. 75-77.

[5] Oi, J.C., *State and Peasant in Contemporary China: The Political Economy of Village Government*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

[6] Delany, B. and Paine, L., "Shifting Patterns of Authority in Chinese Schools", *Comparative Education Review*, 1991, 35 (1), 23-42; Yang, M. M-H., "The Gift Economy and State Power in China", *Comparative Studies in Sociology and History*, 1989, 13 (1), 25-54.

[7] Weiner, 1991, *op. cit*, 109-153; Green, A., *Education and State Formation*. New York: Martin's Press, 1990.

[8] Papanek, G., "The New Asian Capitalism: An Economic Portrait", in Berger, P.L. and Hsiao, H-H. M., (eds), *In Search of an East Asian Development Model*. New Brunswick: Transaction Press, 1988. 27-80.

[9] *Ibid.*, 27-8.

[10] Naughton, B., "Economic Directions for the '90s", *China Business Review*, May-June 1991, 8-10.

[11] Wang, C., Zhang, T.I., Wei, T. and Zhang, J., "Jui duseheng ertong xingwei wenti tan yousheng youyu", *Renkou Yanjui*, 1991 (2) 47-50; Li, R., "Jainxi zhongguo canjirende hunyin zhuangkuang", *Renkou Yanjui*, 1990 (4), 15-19; Yuan, H., "Lun yousi de shehuijingji yiyi he daude de jiuzhi", *Renkou Yanjui*, 1990 (4) 45-48; Huang, R., "Dui yousi wenti de zhiyi", *Renkou Yanjui*, 1991 (2) 51-53).

[12] Nash, J. and Fernandez-Kelly, M.P., (eds), *Women, Men and the International Division of Labour*. Albany: University of New York Press, 1983; Heyzer, N., *Working Women in South-East Asia: Development, Subordination and Emancipation*. Philadelphia: University Press, 1986.

[13] Grubb, W.N. and Lazerson, M., *Broken Promises: How Americans Fail their Children*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988.

[14] Kozol, J., *Rachel and her Children*. New York: Ballantine, 1988.

DEBATES

Child Labour and Fertility

Child work is also debated in relation to population control. One argument is that, particularly in rural areas, parents may decide to have as many children as possible in order to increase the amount of family labour available. Several detailed anthropological studies have been carried out in order to test this hypothesis, although the results are not conclusive. One counter argument is that couples do not decide to have children on economic grounds alone, and that it may even be incorrect to think in terms of rational decision-making with respect to this aspect of human behaviour.

39. *The Economic Value of Children in Java and Nepal*

Moni Nag, Benjamin N.F. White and R. Creighton Peet

"An Anthropological Approach to the Study of the Economic Value of Children in Java and Nepal", *Current Anthropology*, 19 (2), June 1978, (300-1).

The present study (comparing the economic value of children in Java and Nepal) permits a relatively firm conclusion that, even in peasant villages of high population density, households with a relatively large number of children appear to ensure themselves a lengthy period of economic "success" during the latter phase of their development. The duration of this period depends both on the parents' ability to produce children who survive (the effect of high infant mortality being to prolong the difficult initial period) and on their ability to retain control of their children's labor by postponing their dispersal from the household.

The addition of extra members to the household's labor force does not appear to diminish the opportunity for individual members to engage in productive activity. As a matter of fact, it appears slightly to enhance the efficiency of their work. From this point of view, we need some explanation of why the fertility level of peasant villages such as those we studied is not higher than it actually is.

The advantages of a large number of working children in the latter phases of household expansion should not obscure the difficulties encountered by households in the phase of early expansion if there is a large number of very young children, whose productive input does not yet exceed their cost. Because the economic returns of labor in many activities are quite low, it becomes difficult for the households in this early phase to tolerate the burden of a high consumer-producer ratio resulting from a rapid succession of closely spaced births.

Without any assumptions as to the conscious strategies or decisions adopted by parents with regard to fertility, the pattern of actual reproductive behavior in the Javanese and Nepalese villages (with births spaced at an average interval of more than three years) may be regarded as a mechanism which enables the parents to achieve a relatively large number of surviving children while avoiding the external pressures on the household economy that would result from uncontrolled fertility.

In this respect, it is interesting to note that the Yogyakarta region of Java, where the village we studied is located, is generally recognized as one of the poorest in Indonesia, with a high infant mortality rate and low life expectancy, but its total fertility rate is the least of all regions. The reproductive behavior of parents in the Javanese village appears to be representative of that of the Yogyakarta region. Their reproductive strategy (conscious or unconscious), perhaps shared with parents in many other contemporary peasant societies, may be characterized as "having as many children as they can afford and find useful". This strategy of maximizing the number of surviving children seems to serve the parents' own interests better than any other under the existing circumstances, but it may not necessarily be the best strategy for the interests of their children or of the society as a whole.

Obviously, such conflicts of interest cannot last indefinitely and at some point are likely to generate social action to reduce fertility. Recent data from Java indicate a reduction of perhaps 13% in total fertility rate between the late 1960s and 1976, from 5-8 to 4-6 births per woman. However, the region of Yogyakarta (which, as we have seen, had lower fertility than the rest of Java in 1967-71) has apparently experienced no fertility decline during this period, although its per capita expenditure on the family planning program has been considerably higher than in other parts of Java. It is possible that the changes in other parts of Java simply represent a change to a "Yogyakarta pattern" of slightly lower fertility, in which rural couples use a variety of traditional and modern methods of fertility control to achieve a moderately large family size. If so, there is reason to doubt that these trends will continue in the absence of major social and economic changes altering the basic conditions of the reproductive pattern that we have outlined.

The microeconomic theory of fertility recognizes children's work input to household productivity as a factor influencing the fertility behavior of parents in peasant societies, but the relevant data available so far have been used to show that work input by children in peasant agriculture is quite limited and that "children have negative economic value in peasant agriculture". The data presented in this report tend to contradict these conclusions. They demonstrate that the work input by children in Javanese and Nepalese villages is quite substantial. They also suggest that at the current rate of reproduction and under present circumstances, children probably have a net positive economic value to their parents in these villages, aside from the old-age security they provide them.

40. *Education and Fertility*

Keith Lewin, Angela Little and Christopher Colclough

"The Effects of Education on Development Objectives", *Prospects*, UNESCO, (417-8).

A recent ... comprehensive survey of the evidence ... shows that the amount of schooling received by females has an impact on their fertility. The evidence suggests that in low-income countries a few years of schooling (up to four years) leads to an increase in fertility. Subsequent years of schooling lead to a decrease in fertility. In richer countries where the majority of people complete a basic primary education and where the differences that do exist are between levels of secondary and tertiary education, more years of education are generally associated with a decline in fertility. A number of studies examined the relationship between female and male education on completed family size. The impact of the mother's education was considerably stronger than that of the father. The evidence also suggests that fertility decline is much more likely to be associated with levels of education when education is widely available.

Two main policy implications are drawn out from the extensive review. The work suggests that fertility levels could be reduced in low-income countries by making primary schooling accessible to all. Initial increases in fertility will be off-set later by substantial decreases. Secondly, a decline in marital fertility is more likely to be affected by changes in the amount of female education rather than male education.

The causal mechanisms thought to produce these data are complex. Cochrane cites three main types of intervening mechanism:

First, education affects the 'biological supply' of children. This works in at least two opposing directions. On the one hand, education raises the age of marriage, reduces the proportion of women who are married and reduces the chances of pregnancy. On the other hand education also tends to improve health which in turn increases fertility.

Second, education affects the 'demand' for children in a number of opposing ways. Education tends to reduce the desire for a large family and the perceived benefits of having more children. On the other hand the demand for children might increase through a greater perceived ability to afford children.

Third, education affects the use of contraception.

The reasons why schooling affects fertility more when it is widely available than when confined to only a few are also not clear at this stage. Is it because attitudes towards modern contraception in illiterate societies are negative and individual educated females lack the widespread support they need to change their behaviour? Or is it because modern contraceptive advice for both men and women is only made available when a society reaches a certain level of literacy? There are many other possibilities.

The data on education and fertility reinforce in some respects the earlier evidence on education and agricultural productivity. Just as education had an effect on agricultural productivity only when the general environment was 'modernizing', so education affects fertility only when education is widely available. Education is effective under certain conditions.

41. *Critique of the Child Labour and Fertility Hypotheses*

Michael Vlassoff

"An Assessment of Studies Linking Child Labour and Fertility Behaviour in Less Developed Countries", in Kanbargi, R. (ed.), *Child Labour in the Indian Subcontinent: Dimensions and Implications*. Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1991 (101, 109-112).

The hypothesis that the economic contributions of children make high fertility rational behaviour for households in rural, subsistence-level settings has experienced a meteoric rise in popularity. From the publication of *The Myth of Population Control* by Mamadani in 1972 (where this idea was probably first articulated) to the present, it has come to be taken almost as common-sense knowledge that it 'pays' poor peasants to have large families. This phenomenon is all the more remarkable if we consider the few empirical studies relevant to the topic which are available and which cannot yet be considered to have explored the subject adequately. Furthermore, the few studies to date have not reached a unanimous conclusion, some finding little evidence to support the hypothesis. Because of the importance that the general acceptance of this proposition could have for population policy, a critical assessment of the evidence to date is in order...

We can agree with Caldwel[1] when he emphasises that studies about the economic utility of children should pay special attention to ages, both of the older as well as the younger generation. One finds that children are sometimes grouped in age categories which are so broad that it becomes difficult to say something meaningful about the relation between child labour and fertility. In reality, interest in the topic is evoked by the moving image of very young children toiling in fields and carrying out onerous errands. It is not uncommon to find references to children beginning productive work as young as at age 4 years. This contrasts sharply with age groups reaching into early adulthood which are sometimes used to collapse the data. Partly, small sample size necessitates the grouping of data, but more care could be taken to achieve more meaningful categories. For instance, the educational system extant in the survey area should be used in deciding on age groups of children: once children have completed the number of years of schooling normally available to the average household, children have little to do except work for the family business. The fact that they do work after this point may mean that further educational opportunities are simply not available rather than that their labour contributions are indispensable.

Partly, however, the problem of age is that, in most research to date, a cross-sectional approach has been applied to a topic that is bound up in the lifecycle of families. Costs and benefits flow between members of a family literally from the moment of birth to the time of death. If parents are assumed to be calculating costs and benefits over their whole life, then the relevant time frame would be from the time of the fertility decision until the expected death of the parents or at least until the moment when the child starts to make a net benefit. If, on the other hand, the view is that peasants need labour contributions in a more limited time frame, then contributions of children only in those ages should be considered.

Finally, the importance of education in relation to the topic of the economic utility of children cannot be exaggerated. In this we can agree with Caldwell, whose more recent writings have placed greater emphasis on education as a central factor in the reversal of intergenerational flows, even though we need not ascribe its importance to 'Westernisation'. Education impinges on child labour in several ways. First, children in school are removed from the labour market, so at one level school attendance can be used as a measure of the economic necessity of child labour. But more fundamentally, where education has taken hold as it were, an important social change seems to take place. Parents begin to value their children's education more and more so that perhaps less work (either household chores or more obviously productive work) is demanded of them while more effort is made to give them the maximum education possible. As a consequence, children's costs become conscious facts and their economic benefits begin to pale in significance. On top of this there are the connections mentioned by Caldwell: more educated children may tend to be more rebellious, they may set up separate households more frequently, and they may decide more often on the use of contraception without consulting their elders. All these latter linkages, however, are long-term ones which are unlikely to be measured in field studies. They form more theoretical speculations which perhaps help to explain the fertility transition but are hard to verify empirically.

[1] Caldwell, J.C., "Direct Economic Cost and Benefits of Children", in Bulatao, R.A. and R.D. Lee (eds), *Determinants of Fertility in Developing Countries*, Vol. 1. New York: Accademic Press, 1983.

Part 3. EVIDENCE

It is useful for programme planning to have some idea of the situations faced by children in and out of school, working and not working in other contexts.

The next sections provide some of the data that underlie the theoretical arguments and debates. These are in general longer readings, that give detailed accounts of children working in rural and urban settings, evidence of the importance of primary education for economic development, the relationship between school and work during childhood, and the different reasons why children may be unable to attend school.

EVIDENCE

Children Working

This section begins with a classical anthropological statement, based on a survey of children in four rural cultures, that work during childhood is a positive part of socialization. This is followed by studies of child work in more exploitative settings, in the institutionalized slavery of bonded labour described by Neera Burra, and in large-scale agriculture, based on Nick Van Hear's fieldwork in Ghana. Also the result of extensive fieldwork, in the northern Nigerian town of Kano, is Enid Schildkrout's description of the way children's work allows women to be economic actors. The importance of child work in a nomadic context is explored by Abdou Salem Kane. In contrast, Jo Boyden describes the many ways in which children gain a living in the urban informal sector, particularly in street trades. This theme is also taken up in the readings by Lewis Aptekar and by Forest Tyler and his associates, who show how the negative image of street children as being beyond rehabilitation is unfounded, a perspective that has important implications for programme planning for these children.

42. *The Consequences of Work for Children*

R.H. Munroe, R.L. Munroe and
H.S. Shimmin

"Children's Work in Four Cultures: Determinants and Consequences", *American Anthropologist*, 86, 1984, (374-5).

It appears that children in the four communities [we surveyed] work primarily when they are "needed", that is, when they belong to domestic units that are relatively low in the proportion of workers present, and when their domestic units possess an infant requiring care. In addition, their work level is higher when they reside with adults other than biological parents. The chores and tasks are clearly utilitarian and contributory in nature, and they consume a substantial proportion of many children's time. Those children whose lives are significantly involved in work activities might be expected to develop a characterological bent that reflects the work orientation and that is exhibited generally, beyond the work situation itself. As Beatrice Whiting[1] puts it, "The habits of interpersonal behavior that one learns and practices in the most frequented settings may be overlearned and may generalize (transfer) to other settings." Several of the categories of social behavior developed for the Six Culture Study, such as "offers help," "suggests responsibly", "reprimands", seemed appropriate for attempting to measure such sociobehavioral tendencies.

We present here those results that show significant and interpretable correlations between the child's work frequency and the interaction category. Included are three relatively high frequency categories (sociability, seeks help, and suggests responsibility), and seven relatively low frequency categories (offers help, assaults, seeks attention, reprimands, offers support, horseplay, and touches.) The high-frequency categories together comprise about 50% of all acts in this set of observations; the low-frequency categories, about 15%. The remaining 35% of the acts belong to categories that are not meaningfully related to children's work. All correlations are controlled for children's ages in order to reduce the confounding effect of developmental changes in both activities and social behavior.

... [C]hildren frequently involved in domestic and subsistence activities were more likely, even when not engaged in work activities, to make responsible suggestions, fairly likely both to reprimand and to seek help from others, and fairly likely to receive compliance when they initiated interactions. The picture is one of businesslike, efficient, purposeful social behavior, working children engaged in a pattern of interaction that itself seems work-like.

Looking next at the categories that are negatively related to work load, we see that children who did relatively little work were likely to behave sociably, to engage in frequent physical contact (touching, assaulting, and horseplay), and to seek attention from others. Here one has the impression that for these children, interaction was an end in itself — there is almost a sense of "fooling around", of playfulness, in this congeries of sociableness, horseplay and touching. (Even "assaulting", which sounds like a serious matter, is just another form of tactile communication, since aggression in the sense of infliction of serious injury or severe pain seldom occurs in the observations.)

Children, especially girls, who were involved frequently in child care apparently transferred some of the behaviors typically exhibited toward younger children (i.e., offering help and support) to other social settings. These care givers behaved in a nurturant fashion in general.

Overall, the results ... suggest that girls, more than boys, learn supporting behaviors in the course of child care. Boys who care for infants are less likely than other boys to engage in horseplay. Girls who are more heavily involved in domestic and subsistence activities are low on sociability, while such boys tend not to exhibit more physical forms of behavior. Boys, even more than girls, make responsible suggestions if they are typically hard workers. Hardworking girls seek help more frequently, perhaps because they have learned to ask for help during task behaviors, and this asking for help has become habitual. That the mean level of the girls' work is higher than the level of boys' work in all cultures suggests that girls may learn, through work, to perform more complex tasks. They then may undertake more complex nonwork tasks, for which seeking help is appropriate.

As expected, interaction categories, almost across the board, are more strongly associated with the child's work than with the background variables such as the consumer-worker ratio. The structure of the relationships thus is consistent with the argument that the child's level of work is affected by ecological factors and in turn is one of the sources for the child's own developing character.

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[1] Whiting, B., *Children of Six Cultures*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1980.

43. *Child Labour and the Development of Capitalist Agriculture in Ghana*

Nick Van Hear

"Child Labour and the Development of Capitalist Agriculture in Ghana", *Development and Change*, 13 (4), 1982, (499-514).

As in most of Africa, Ghanaian children are widely engaged in agriculture. Participation in household production is almost universal, but children are also increasingly employed as hired agricultural labourers: this paper is concerned chiefly with the latter ... and indicates some of the ways in which children have resisted exploitation...

Since the 1950s farming has grown more commercialized outside the cocoa areas, and young migrants from the North have travelled to food farms in the Brong-Ahafo region rather than to the cocoa farms further south. More recently, the North itself has experienced capitalist agricultural development. With the help of large state subsidies, lenient credit terms and cheap tractors, large-scale private rice farming took off in the late 1960s in the Dagomba district around Tamale and in the Fumbisi valley further north.[1]

These developments much increased the use of hired labour in the North, particularly that of children. In the rice areas large-scale farmers hire two kinds of labour: permanent workers as general labourers and tractor and combine operators, and, despite mechanization, a large amount of casual labour at peak periods such as weeding and harvesting. Children are rarely employed as permanent workers, although as the rice industry boomed, young men, some scarcely in their teens, flocked to attach themselves as apprentices or mates to tractor drivers employed by private farmers or state companies. This influx, coupled with unemployment as farmers reduced their acreages after three years of drought, enabled farmers to increase the already rampant exploitation of tractor drivers and their mates. Meagre wages were cut or not paid at all, and since mates were not paid by farmers but received only 'chop money' from their masters, the poor condition of the tractor drivers was passed on to them. Faced with unemployment, however, young workers were prepared to accept these poor conditions just to keep their jobs; the status of 'apprentice', such that it was, disappeared as young workers remained mates for 5, 6, or 7 years.

Children were more important as casual workers and they formed the bulk of the casual labour force in the rice industry. Traditionally, young Dagomba boys farmed and tended livestock for their fathers from an early age but apart from harvesting corn and groundnut farms for richer peasants, work paid in kind but sometimes in cash, there was very little hired labour. Girls had little to do with cultivation but helped older women to carry and process harvested crops. The advent of the rice industry changed all this, introducing hired labour on a scale never seen before in the North, and drew large numbers of boys and girls into the casual labour market...

The continuing labour shortage strengthened the bargaining power of casual workers and they were able to resist exploitation more successfully than their older friends employed as tractor drivers' mates. The struggle between employers and workers intensified as farmers tried by various means to extract more labour for less pay. This struggle could be seen every morning as one or two youths bargained on behalf of the rest of the labourers with farmers or their managers over whether the work was to be on a by day basis or piece work basis, over the time of finishing work, the amount of piece work which was measured in paces, and over the rate of pay.[2] Farmers were singled out as *dariga* ('cheat') or *allaha* ('wanting cheap'). Dariga men would renege on agreements reached during bargaining, while allaha men offered very low rates of pay. They could be recognized, it was said, because they always hired young boys who could be paid low wages and easily cheated:

> if you see a trailer full of small boys it means the farmer is a cheat. He will cheat the small boys and pay them small, or he will pace out 20 by 20 instead of 15 by 15.[3]

The bargaining process seemed incomprehensibly disorderly, but behind the chaos there was an informal but forceful organization among the labourers based on an acute sense of their bargaining power and solidarity. This was most obvious in the youths' protective role towards the children: they bargained on their behalf and prevented the children from joining dariga farmers and being cheated. Often tractors would draw up which would be approached by only a few small boys who were immediately called back by their seniors. This boycotting of dariga farmers was effective and was accompanied by the jeering of the assembled workers as empty trailers left the by day centres.

For their part the small boys confirmed that they 'followed the grown ups' so that they were not cheated. They were not as gullible as their seniors made out, however, and were quite capable of independent action. They often decided for themselves whether an offer was worthwhile and snubbed farmers who tried to cheat them. The humiliation of being ridiculed by young children was deeply felt by dariga and allaha farmers.

The struggle against exploitation was also much in evidence at the workplace itself. Once en route to the farm in a farmer's trailer the labourers were a captive workforce simply because they had no means of returning home. To come home independently they would have to pay the fare themselves, and transport was in any case scarce. The farmers were well aware of this, and it was a potent means of labour control for them. Once at the farm they could reduce the rate agreed on, or resort to such ludicrous ruses as widening their strides when pacing out piece work plots to increase the area to be worked. Labourers might also find their working day was extended beyond the agreed time, or that far more work was involved than they had bargained for.

Labourers responded in a number of ways. Some grudgingly accepted the revised terms of work, or left to try to make their own way home. More commonly in the late 1970s, however, workers resorted to collective action; they refused to work, sat down, and demanded to be taken home. Threats of violence were thrown in to intimidate intransigent farmers or managers. It was frequently the youths who took the lead in these actions, but small boys also acted independently. A group of them commented, 'Once a farmer cut 30 by 30 instead of 15 by 15. We refused to work and told him to bring us home or we use knife to threaten him.' The eruption of actual violence was not uncommon. Violence also broke out if farmers refused to pay after the work was completed, if they disputed its quality, or attempted to delay payment.

Thus, while the farmers as employers were dominant, gross exploitation was rarely possible. Having given up any illusions in constitutional means of settling disputes — the police were invariably on the side of the freely bribing farmers — labourers increasingly took direct and often violent action. These actions included small children acting both with the young men and independently. If the labourers did not feel confident enough to resist the farmers at the workplace, they used the boycott. They spread word about bad treatment to other workers at the by day centres, and discouraged small children from joining dariga men. The effectiveness of this collective action was realized:

> If the farmer is bad, the group won't go again and it affects him. It is something like a strike. And he will beg us to come. It affects him if one says he won't come, and it affects him more if a group won't go.

Village workers faced the same forms of exploitation, in particular the reneging of agreements over pay. Their tactics of resistance were much the same, and the boycott was especially effective since it meant that farmers were forced to import labour at great cost from outside. But villagers rarely resorted to violence and were more fatalistic; children followed the women workers and seemed rarely to take collective action themselves. Villagers' resistance more usually took covert forms, as did that of Tamale labourers if they could not confront the farmers directly. They worked slowly or carelessly, hid in the bush, and deliberately wasted time while working. Dariga would make them intensify this by trampling, cutting or uprooting rice while weeding. Arson was another means of getting back at dariga farmers. It was frequently threatened in order to coerce farmers who had gone back on agreements or refused to pay after the work was done. While most of the very frequent fires on northern rice farms were accidental, labourers readily admitted that they were responsible for some of them: 'If the farmer is a dariga man, as the by days are leaving the last one will drop a match in the field'. Both village and town labourers resorted to arson, and although there is no means of knowing if child workers started fires, there is certainly no reason to exclude them. Finally, children were involved in another form of covert resistance — theft.

During the late 1970s, then, farmers were faced with an increasingly militant casual labour force that was ready to contest exploitation. Despite their apparent disorganization, the labourers, including children, used a number of potent weapons. They could go slow or work badly, go on sit-down strikes, boycott dariga farmers and, if these tactics were ineffective, they could resort to physical attacks on their employers, sabotage and threats of arson. The farmers' response was to increase labour control. Supervision was intensified and piecework extended to women and children. The division between youths and the children were played upon by appealing to price in workmanship. Lists of 'good' workers were introduced by some farmers, and workers disciplined by the threat of being struck off. These measures had little effect, but of greater significance was the downturn in rice farming in 1978 and 1979. Fewer farmers came to collect labour from the by day centres and those that did could dictate their own terms. Small children were left behind in favour of the youths. This underlines the fact that the labourers were only able to take action when they were in great demand, at peak periods in the farming calendar. During slack periods, workers needing cash had to accept the farmers' terms, and they were able to cut wage rates, increase piece work, or extend the working day with impunity.

The development of the rice industry has incorporated children in northern Ghana into cash earning as never before. Children are also employed in other occupations stimulated by the rice expansion: in rice milling and marketing, and in construction, often of houses for prosperous rice farmers, for which they are paid a daily wage (₵4 to ₵5 in 1978). Further north, in Upper Region, children are not only employed on rainfed rice farms like those of the Dagomba district, but are also widely hired by commercial farmers on the Vea Irrigation Project near Bolgatanga to sow, weed and harvest rice on the irrigated plots. They suffer the same kinds of exploitation as elsewhere in the North — a long working day, refusal by farmers to pay proper wages, and extremely low pay (₵1 to ₵2 in 1978) — and they resort to similar kinds of resistance — go-slows, sabotage, stealing rice, arson, blocking irrigation channels, etc.

The children on the Vea scheme often cut out school attendance in order to work on the rice fields. Schooling has rapidly expanded in Ghana since the 1950s when Nkrumah's government inaugurated a campaign of mass education. Attendance grew in the 1950s and 1960s and this undoubtedly affected the supply of labour to agriculture. Nevertheless, although it might be expected that universal schooling might make child labour 'illegitimate' in popular consciousness (as well as in law), children are still widely employed in agriculture, particularly in the North, as has been shown. In Dagomba the incorporation of children into agricultural wage labour appears to have had little effect on school attendance. Despite compulsory schooling, both state and Koranic schools have always found it difficult to enrol pupils, and parents are generally unwilling to send their children to school. Work on the father's farm takes preference over school, and for large numbers of small boys it was 'no school, always farming'. Very few girls go to school in this strongly Islamic society.

Nor do popular ideas about child labour in Dagomba appear to have changed as a result of the exploitation of children by large-scale rice farmers. There is no evidence, for example, that parents were exerting pressure on their children to withdraw from rice labour, as adult labourers had themselves done in the early 1970s. The only articulated consciousness of their exploitation comes, not surprisingly, from the children themselves, and from their older co-workers. This apparent lack of parental concern might be attributed to several factors. First, children are relatively autonomous. They were rarely sent out to work by their fathers, although in many cases the earnings were handed over to the parents. Children were adamant that they decided when to work, and they disposed of at least part of the money as they wanted. Secondly, no notion had developed of what constituted acceptable child employment and unacceptable exploitation; the assumption was simply that all children should work. Lastly, peasant farmers were themselves involved in the commercial expansion of food farming and increasingly utilized both paid and unpaid child labour themselves...

The universal participation of children in domestic labour, and the assumption that all children work, has sanctioned their incorporation into wage work outside the domestic sphere. At the same time, the fact that they are supported by the domestic economy and are easily reabsorbed into it, means that they may be paid low wages and are easily disposed of when no longer needed. This flexibility is perhaps the chief advantage of child labour to the farmer-employers, particularly suiting the seasonal nature of agricultural work. Children can also be called upon when other sources are exhausted, or when other labourers will not accept the conditions of employment and, as in the domestic sphere, they can be allotted the most monotonous and time-consuming jobs. Finally, children are thought by employers to be easily cheated and less likely to resist than other workers. But, as the account of the rice industry has shown, they are not nearly so compliant as popularly supposed, and have shown a capacity for effective resistance — such resistance constrains their utilization and exploitation.

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[1] See A.W. Shepherd, "The Development of Capitalist Rice Farming in Northern Ghana", PhD dissertation, Cambridge, 1979.

[2] In 1978 youths were paid ₵4 or ₵5 for daily rated work, and up to ₵8 for piece work. Small children were paid ₵2 to ₵3, while the statutory minimum wage was ₵4. By 1980 youths had pushed their wages up to ₵10 following an increase in the statutory minimum wage.
In 1978 the official exchange rate was ₵2 to £1, and after devaluation £1 exchanged for approximately ₵5. However, rampant inflation and black marketeering meant that the real value of the wage was much lower: in 1978 a loaf of bread cost ₵2 to ₵3 and a tuber of yam ₵2 to ₵4.

[3] This and the following quotations are from young agricultural workers interviewed in Tamale, Northern Ghana, in 1978.

44. *The Employment of Children in Kano*

Enid Schildkrout

"The Employment of Children in Kano", in Rogers, G. and Standing, G., *Child Work, Poverty and Underdevelopment*. Geneva: ILO, 1981 (90-5, 103-6).

Even within the family the distribution of control over child labour is an important issue for empirical study. Women sometimes have greater control than men over children's labour, even though men are politically dominant. In western Africa, where women's incomes are typically kept separate from household budgets, control over child labour often enables women to divert resources from the male to the female economic domain. This depends, of course, on how distinct these domains are. In Kano, men are responsible for providing housing, food and clothing for their wives, children, and elderly widowed or divorced mothers. Women, however, generally cook only one meal a day for their families. They purchase the other meals from other women with the money provided by their husbands. Most women engage in income-producing occupations, and many are involved in preparing and selling cooked food. The income from these activities is kept by the women and used for themselves and their children to purchase supplementary food or clothing and for the children's marriage expenses. It is also used in female gift exchange, as business capital, and as a source of security in case of divorce, which is common. Men and women can be seen as participating in separate but interlinked economic spheres. By taking household expense money and using it to purchase cooked food from other women, resources are diverted from the male into the female domain. Women are able to do this through their control over child labour, since children buy the ingredients for cooking the food, and they are the ones who go from one house to another with bowls of food or money to purchase it.

In the Kano study, the two wards, or neighbourhoods, which were studied are referred to here as A and B. In ward A, two-thirds of a sample of 52 primary school age children were attending both Western and Qur'anic school (71 per cent of the boys and 76 per cent of the girls; 88 per cent of the boys if the *almajirai* are excluded). In ward B, of a sample of 57 children, 75 per cent of the boys and only one girl (4 per cent) were attending Western and Qur'anic school ... [V]ariations in the father's income were not the main cause [of this difference]. However, the mothers and female caretakers of the children in ward B were, as a group, earning over three times the income in ward A. (Tables 1 and 2 omit 13 women who were not in seclusion; therefore the actual figures are somewhat different.) The husbands' incomes in both wards ranged widely, but this variation did not differentiate the two wards. In both wards, those women who traded in cooked food and petty commodities earned between two and three times more than women engaged in non-trading occupations such as embroidery, hair plaiting, or pounding grain (see Tables 1 and 2). These non-trading occupations do not require the daily services of children, whereas trading utilises children regularly for procuring supplies and buying and selling the finished products. In ward B, among the married women in *purdah* who traded in cooked food, those who had children selling the food in the street earned almost twice the monthly income (25.66 versus 14) of women who did not use children. This clearly is related to the reluctance of people in this ward to send their daughters to school, for very few schoolgirls engage in street-trading and none are able to do so on a full-time basis. The number of secluded women traders who did not have children helping them was small (only three), and even these women relied on children to come to their homes to purchase the food they cooked, as well as to buy ingredients (see Table 2). All the women who trade in perishable commodities rely on children, unless they are no longer in *purdah* themselves. The latter category consists, for the most part, of divorced and widowed older women who have no expectation of remarrying. These women do not appear in the tables presented here.

Table 1: Occupations and income of secluded women in ward A

Occupation	No of women	Percentage of women	Average monthly income*
None	4	13	0
Administering credit society	1	3	N5.00
Sewing men's caps, knitting, embroidery	9	28	N5.80
Machine sewing	3	9	N5.00
Hair plaiting	2	6	N5.00
Selling cooked food and/or trading without children hawking	5	16	N11.25
Selling cooked food and/or trading with children hawking	8	25	N12.81
Total	32	100	N7.53

* N1.00 = $1.60 in 1977

Table 2: Occupations and income of secluded women in ward B

Occupation	No of women	Percentage of women	Average monthly income
None	0	0	0
Sewing caps	6	17	N5.80
Hair plaiting and sewing caps	2	6	N9.50
Machine sewing	3	9	N7.50
Pounding grain	2	6	N7.50
Selling cooked food and trading without children hawking	3	9	N14.00
Selling cooked food and trading with children hawking	19	54	N25.66
Total	35	101	N17.74

...[P]roblems have been encountered in relation to the unpaid domestic work of women, although there is an increasing awareness that housework deserves recognition and remuneration. Children who perform errands for their mothers, care for younger siblings or assist in domestic chores, are contributing to the maintenance of their households as well as reducing the opportunity cost of women's work, although they are not generating income. Their activities are unquestionably an economic asset, for if children did not perform these tasks other domestic help would have to be employed. The communication of information is obviously a crucial service in any economic system;

in Hausa society, most of this work too is done by children. Better than any adult, children know who is selling what, where, and for how much.

In interviewing children and adults in Kano, I was often told that when 3-year-olds are playing imitative games such as "going to Mecca", "cooking food for sale", "shopping", or "marriage", they are working; that is, play is the work, the appropriate activity of children of a certain age. When a Hausa girl is 9 or 10 she may start making tiny cakes for sale to children. These cakes are made of flour and water and fried in a small quantity of oil. They are about 5 cm in diameter, and they are not food that any adult would consume. However, children buy them for cash and even obtain credit. This activity generates income (one girl obtained enough money to buy a pair of shoes), but it is regarded, nevertheless, as play (*wasa*), for at this age girls are aware that cooking is an activity performed by adult women. Cooking is part of the adult female role, initiated by marriage, although adult women also cook to earn money. In other words, remuneration is not the main definitional criterion of work in Hausa culture; there are many activities which produce income which are not regarded as work. Work can only be defined in relation to the age and sex of the person performing a particular task and in the context of the cultural expectations appropriate to this person's status. If a 12-year-old boy spends time minding a baby this is not considered work, although it is regarded as work if a married girl of the same age does it. These definitions are changing among the Hausa, as elsewhere, and also vary according to local ecological and economic circumstances. The expectations for children in farming families, for example, are clearly different from those in urban settings in that they include much more agricultural labour. Formerly, most Hausa adolescent boys were expected to begin earning their own living by doing farm work or odd jobs for pay. This was a precondition for marriage, in that boys were expected to contribute to their marriage expenses. Today, with longer periods of Western education in addition to Islamic education, these expectations are changing.

Most of the Hausa children's activities that are considered to be work — particularly in the case of children under 12 years of age — are tasks performed within the context of a relationship of mutual dependence between an adult and a child. After the age of 12 many children are partially self-supporting. Girls are usually married between 10 and 15, often by 12, and boys begin to earn their own incomes. Western education is changing this pattern, but the traditional conception of children's work among the Hausa is that it is an activity defined in relationship to the work of adults. This is linguistically demarcated in Hausa. The term for work is *aiki*, but this term is rarely applied to children's activities. *Aike-aike* refers to small jobs and is sometimes applied to children's activities. When we examine the terms specifically used to describe the activities of children we must turn to the related word *aika*, "send". The term *aike* refers to an errand and *aikace-aikace* refers to small jobs. The most common way in which children express their work roles is to say "I was sent" to do a particular task. Given the fact that a very large part of children's work consists of errands, and that in Hausa society the most significant thing about the work roles of children is the mutual interdependence between adult and children's roles, it is interesting to note this linguistic relationship between the words for "work" and "send"...

Because of the segregation of the male and female domains, and the importance of children to women's economic activities, data on men and women should not be confused. Much research on child labour has assumed the existence of a conjugal fund and that the household can be used unquestionably as the unit of analysis. We find this unit in European and American census reports of the past two centuries; we also find it in demographic studies in low-income countries. Many studies of the relationship between child labour and fertility are based on the notion of the household as a unit of pooled resources and joint decisions. However, the projection of the model of the nuclear family household on to disparate sets of data has led to conclusions which are often erroneous, based as they are on assumptions of universality which, as African data suggest, are false.

Our own research in Kano illustrates a tendency for women to earn and maintain separate incomes, a practice which is also found in many agrarian, pastoral, mercantile and wage economies in Africa. This is probably more common in polygamous societies than in monogamous ones, although even in the latter the relationship between male and female earnings should be studied empirically. If we start with the notion that all family members are potentially productive individuals, and that their roles may complement one another, we need not assume the economic dependence of one age or sex group or another, and can proceed to an examination of the distribution of economic rights and duties within a household. For example, if we compare the organisation of the Yoruba and Hausa household, two cases from Nigeria, we find great differences in the division of economic responsibility between the spouses. While Hausa husbands are responsible for providing housing, food and clothing for their wives and children, Yoruba wives are given trading capital and are thereafter expected to provide much of the daily subsistence for themselves and their children. As Sanjek suggests, a household is a "staging area for social life"; it may not be a unit of production, or consumption, and it certainly need not be both. The activities of the household must be analysed in the context of data on the mode of production in the particular society. Is the household in fact a food producing, or procuring, or processing unit? Is it a unit of consumption? How are economic rights and duties distributed among household members? The functions of social units such as families or households are matters for empirical investigation. In many census surveys, the physical structure of the house has often been assumed to be congruent with a social unit; this very often is not the case.

An empirical investigation of household composition and domestic roles helps us understand the extent to which various categories of person have rights to children's services. In Kano, virtually any adult can send any child on an errand, whether or not they are related, live in the same house, or even know each other. However, the child can rightfully expect to receive compensation which will vary according to his or her relationship to the adult. Parents or other primary caretakers do not give children special rewards when they run errands, since such work is part of the accepted obligations of child to parent. However, more distant relatives or non-relatives, even if living in the same house, will reward children for running errands, usually with food or money. Strangers will offer a predetermined payment, which is actually a piece-rate wage.

We were able to investigate children's extra- and intra-household relationships on the basis of daily diaries of the activities of 112 children over ten days each. We used a sample of children stratified according to age, sex, school attendance patterns and parental occupations. Among other things, we found that while many children live away from their mothers, mainly because of a high divorce rate, they nevertheless perform many services for them. Some children also regularly work for their grandmothers while living with their parents; adults who have claims to children's services frequently live in different households. For example, a Hausa child has a very significant relationship with the woman who cared for him or her during the week of weaning. This woman is often a grandmother or parent's sibling. Many children visit this woman regularly and perform household service for her throughout their childhood, sometimes extending to financial support in adulthood. Apart from these special relationships, we found that many children regularly perform errands and claim food in several houses, sometimes even varying their sleeping arrangements. Therefore, an assumption that children's unpaid domestic labour is confined to the household unit would certainly distort our data analysis.

... [T]he major catalyst of change in the roles of children in northern Nigeria is the increasing numbers of children in primary school. This also has profound implications for the roles of women and the structure of the family which, in this society, is so dependent upon child labour for socio-cultural, even more than economic, reasons.

In this part of Nigeria, Western education on a large scale is recent. During the colonial period, the British left the Islamic education system intact and prohibited Christian mission schools from entering the area. The result is that the north of Nigeria lags far behind other parts of the country in the extent to which Western education has been developed. For the past few years, the Federal and State Governments have been involved in a massive campaign to increase enrolments in primary school. There has been a certain amount of well publicised resistance, mostly from conservative religious elements who see Western education as a threat to the traditional Islamic education system. However, there is some indication that this resistance is exaggerated, for in the late 1970s enrolments in primary school far surpassed expectations and facilities. We suspect that such opposition as exists is due to recognition of the threat that Western education poses to the division of labour by age and sex and to the institution of *purdah*. In fact, Kano families who do not enrol their boys in school are rare; but as this study demonstrated, there is considerably more variation with girls.

...[I]n some parts of Kano school attendance is increasingly replacing street-trading for girls as an occupation and as a means of obtaining dowry. It is interesting to note that opponents of Western education for women claim that the virtue of girls is at risk in school, since in order to obtain gifts girls must attract suitors. The opponents of street-trading, however, use exactly the same argument, saying that street activity compromises girls' morality. For both groups, the expectation that women will marry at puberty and live in *purdah* remains; what varies, as children's roles have changed, is simply the means of obtaining the economic prerequisites for marriage. Street-trading and school attendance, for girls, are seen as different means to the same end. Until there is a change in the values associated with marriage and female roles in general, this will continue to be the case. Street-trading before marriage will continue for some, and women's education will be aborted by marriage for others.

In the long term, however, Western education inevitably poses a threat to traditional values and social roles. In the present and in the immediate future, the removal of children from full-time participation in the domestic economy makes it much more difficult for women to function in marriages of seclusion. In the long run, Western education potentially equips women to assume new occupational roles which are incompatible with such marriages. Inevitably, Western education will change the roles of children and threatens to change the nature of marriage in Hausa society. It is important to realise that it is not possible to tamper with the roles of children in this way without at the same time altering the balance of power between men and women, both of whom depend upon children, but in very different ways.

To conclude, if there is one lesson that anthropology has to offer in the study of child labour, it is the impact of cultural factors on social and economic activities. In studying the impact of one set of forces on another, it is vital that we appreciate that social, economic and cultural forces are integrated into behavioural systems. Change in any one part of the system affects the whole. We cannot intervene in children's lives without taking into account many factors which might at first glance seem to have little to do with them.

45. *The Work of Child Nomads*

Abdou Salam Kane

"A Difficult Present and an Uncertain Future: Children and Young Shepherds in and around Labgar", *African Environment*, 1981, UNICEF.

It should be emphasized that entry into working life occurs at an early age. Indeed, from the age of seven, children are involved in economic activities, mainly those in the predominant mode of exploitation, i.e., pastoralism.

... [In agricultural work] the activities of children and youngsters vary according to age and sex. Whereas the boys take part in preparing, sowing, clearing, in surveilling fields and in harvesting, the girls are involved in sowing, surveillance and harvesting. A similar division of labour exists in the tasks allocated to young men and young women; the former do the same jobs as adult men (preparation, fending, sowing, clearing and harvesting, beating and carrying the millet).

...[In pastoral work] the youngest children are brought into social activities. Both boys and girls generally start working in the "daral" (cattle-pen), where they keep watch on the calves before and after milking. This system of involving children in productive work at such an early age is of great pedagogic value, because children move rapidly from the stage of playing at owning cattle (pieces of wood and other objects) to experiencing concrete reality, and this stimulates their interest.

At about the age of ten and depending on sex, children are made to carry out differentiated tasks. Whereas young girls specialize in milking the cows and processing the milk (creaming and curdling), the boys gradually specialize in breeding sheep and goats.

The division of labour in cattle farming is also marked by the rhythm of the seasons. Whereas during the rainy season, both people and cattle stay in the base village close to water and grazing-land, during the dry season men and beasts move around according to long-established patterns.

In the rainy season — except in periods of "exceptional drought", the main pastoral tasks can be performed in close proximity with the "ruumande" village, where the division of labour is identical to that described above.

In times of exceptional drought, the first priority of the family unit will be to safeguard its assets. In this process, the younger members (children and, in particular, young couples) play a most important part. A stay during the month of August 1979 in a temporary camp showed that the Fulanis in Kooya are acutely aware of the laws of cattle-raising, i.e. the movement of cattle is ordered and broken into stages, they move from north to south away from the habitual meeting point, the bore-hole...

That people desert the vicinity of bore-holes at such times shows proof of undoubted common sense, yet it is nevertheless a fact that the displacement of the herd en masse, its concentration in vulnerable sites and the resulting overgrazing do lead to rapid depletion of resources (the Njarka pond dried out in four days because of the massive influx of cattle from Nayde, Baljet and Teccerle). Moreover, the quest for new pastures (the reason given for their presence by more than 70% of young people questioned at Njarka, Boowee, Nyiiwa and Lumbi Barille) can have negative effects because precipitation may vary somewhat from one site to another in the area, the sharp increase in cattle herds prevents the vegetable cover from growing and the fact of abandoning one pasture because the grass has disappeared and moving to another is a threat to the latter. It is a remarkable fact that this exceptional movement of cattle takes place in stages which combine the two conditions sine qua non of pastoralism, i.e., the presence of water and of grazing-land.

Another incidental factor is that during this period, available milk drops by some nine-tenths, because that is the proportion of animals which have been moved on in search of better grazing.

During the rainy season, the movements are organized according to lineage and cultural practices. Three different patterns exist:

1) a more or less massive transhumance towards the River valley, towards the south of the district or towards the Saloum;
2) moving closer to and settling around the bore-hole;
3) remaining in the base village.

The first of these involves groups with more marked agro-pastoral tendencies; they will generally move towards the River region. (This applies mainly and traditionally to the Uururbe (at Njum and in the "kolaade" of Sirwaan and Gamjal) and to the Haayrankoobe (at Jal, Haayre and Songoony)).

Children are involved to a greater extent in the other two situations, where they are made responsible for watering the cattle, supplying water for domestic use as well as for small ruminants. Depending on the distance between the source of water and the settlement (either at a temporary camp or in the base village), children and young people are obliged to fetch water once a day or once every two days.

The water is transported or carried in ox-drawn cisterns, in waterskins or in a specially adapted old inner tube of a tyre.

Herds moving in search of water tend to converge on the bore-hole in Labgar. Camps located in the far north, east and south of the area tend to move to the bore-holes in Nammarel and Dooji.

Table 1: Who keeps watch over the cattle?

Village or camps	No. of "galleji" surveyed	Watch by ownership unit				
		By the owner	By wife/ wives	By children	Paid shepherd	By others
Asre Gawdi	1	1		1		
Badde	4	3	1	3		
Baldjel	4	3		3		
Cilel	1			1		
Gaydum Jaalal	2	2		2		
Gaydum	3	1		2		
Gaydum Haayran-koobe	3	1		2		
Kaadar	5	4		1		1
Kabel 1	8	3		7		
Labgar Canoor	7			2	4	1
Labgar Maures	8	1			7	
Labgar Wolof	2				2	
Leedeem	9	6		5	3	
Lumbi Mbaareeje	4	3		2	1	
Lumbol Habubu	3	3				1
Lumbol Jibi	20	13	3	4	2	5
Lumbol Kooti	3	2		1	1	
Nayde	3	1		3		
Njarka	5	2		3		
Nyiuva	4	2		4		
Teccerle Ndaweeje	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total District	86	50	5	42	20	8

46. *Child Workers in an Urban Context: The Case of Lima, Peru*

Jo Boyden

"Working Children in Lima Peru", in Myers, W.E. (ed.), *Protecting Working Children*. London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd, in association with UNICEF, 1991 (34-6).

In Lima children are to be found in a wide range of occupations, almost exclusively in the informal sector. According to the Peruvian Ministry of Labour, only 4 per cent of working juveniles are employed by formal sector enterprise, and even this figure could well be an exaggeration.[1] Some survive by engaging in marginal activities which are not conventionally seen as work, such as thieving, begging and foraging in dustbins or refuse tips. Some are involved in street services like shoe-shining, washing cars or guarding property. Some work as fare collectors on buses. Others work in the market, cleaning fish, plucking chickens, carrying goods or selling left-over foodstuffs, or in restaurants, preparing food or washing dishes. Many are street vendors, selling newspapers, cheap household items and food. A few are shop assistants, apprentices in small mechanics or carpentry workshops, or cleaners in factories or restaurants.

The distribution of juvenile occupations corresponds closely with that of adults in the informal sector, although the greatest concentrations of children are in the lowest paid occupations, especially street vending and domestic service. There are no occupations exclusive to juveniles, except perhaps certain forms of entertainment on buses and in the street. Moreover, juveniles compete with adults in a range of occupations normally thought to be exclusive to adults, including hod carrying on building sites, washing up in restaurants and carrying goods in markets. Children are disadvantaged in relation to adults in that they are physically and mentally less suited to many jobs, but they have the advantage of being cheaper. On the whole, children are not found in occupations requiring special skills or training or large amounts of capital.

The range of occupations open to juveniles is dependent upon a number of other factors, such as age, gender and place of work. In contrast to the conventional view of child street work in Third World cities, which anticipates a concentration of juveniles in services like shoe-shining and guarding and washing cars, most juvenile street workers in Lima are involved in vending. Their distribution between services and vending is strongly affected by location. Of the children in the ILO study of Comas, 83 percent worked within the community itself and only 17 per cent travelled to the city centre. In a low-income area like Comas, one would not expect to find a great deal of employment in personal services. On the other hand, children working in inner city commercial and residential districts can earn a fair income by offering such services. Thus 18 per cent of the children from Comas who worked in the centre of Lima were engaged in services, as opposed to only 9 per cent of those who remained in the community.

There are marked gender differences in most juvenile occupations in Lima, with the division of labour reflecting closely the pattern among adults. Differing attitudes towards boys and girls have a major impact on their role in the labour market. Most noticeably, girls have far more restricted employment prospects than boys, especially in wage-earning activities on the street. In the Oort de Sanchez survey of juvenile street workers, which included shoe-shiners, vendors, and children who washed and guarded cars and collected fares on minibuses, only 9.3 per cent of the total were girls. In her second sample of newspaper vendors, the percentage of girls rose as a percentage of the total in the higher age groups.[2] On the whole, there is a strong resistance in Lima to allowing girls to work on the streets:..

Girls have a more central domestic role than boys, and complement adults more directly by supplementing the labour of their mothers in household chores and child care. Whereas boys over 9 years old are expected to be more or less economically self-sufficient, girls of this age may be crucial to sustaining the household because their work in the home releases the mother for paid labour. Girls who for some reason or other are made homeless are far more likely than boys to be taken in by neighbours who, above all else, seek unpaid assistance in the house. One of the few opportunities for female labour on the streets is vending. However, even in this occupation boys predominate. The 1976 census of street vendors in Lima revealed that more males than females in the under-20 age group were engaged in this activity, although this relation was reversed in workers over the age of 30.[3] Juveniles are concentrated in services and commerce rather than production. This is particularly true of girls, although they are involved in outwork in the textile and other industries. Where girls are engaged in production, it is usually in the home rather than industrial establishments. Of the juveniles working as assistants in small workshops in Alarcon's study,[4] 96 per cent were boys.

Labour force mobility tends to be far greater among boys than girls, reflecting the fact that boys have access to a wider range of occupations and, at least in the younger age groups, are involved in the more flexible activities on the street. Alarcon found that while 42 per cent of the males in his sample had changed occupation at least once, only 14 per cent of the girls had done so. Not only do girls tend to undertake more chores in the home than boys, but many — perhaps the majority — also enter paid-domestic service, one of the lowest status occupations in Lima. One study found that round 80 per cent of the total of domestics are between 15 and 17 years of age, with some as young as 8.[5]

...There is consistent underestimation of the unpaid juvenile contribution in the urban context, due probably to the narrow definitions of juvenile work used by adults. For example, children who assist their parents in outwork in the home will probably be seen as helpers rather than workers. What is more, it is highly unlikely that the employer will know anything about the child's contribution. Violeta Sara-Lafosse studied female outworkers engaged in dressmaking, and found that 30 per cent of the 400 in her sample relied on the unpaid assistance of their school-age children.[6] When the mother works, older children may also help with the care of younger siblings and domestic chores. Unremunerated child work is also widespread in street vending, where children help their parents to set out and sell their wares.

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[1] Ugarelli Betalleluz, E., "La situación social del menor que solicita permiso de trabajo". Unpublished paper, Ministry of Labour, Lima.

[2] Oort de Sanchez, A., "Niños que trabajan". Unpublished thesis, PUC Lima, 1983.

[3] Mercado, H., *La familia y el niño*. Lima: AMIDEP, 1985.

[4] Alarcon Glasminovich, W., "Pobreza urbana y trabajo infantil en Lima Metropolitana". Unpublished report for Radda Barnen, Lima, 1986.

[5] Rutte Garcia, A., *Simplemente explotadas: el mundo de las empleadas domésticas de Lima*. Lima: DESCO, 1973.

[6] Sara-Lafosse, V., *Campesinas y costureras*. Lima: PUC, 1983.

47. *Child Bonded Labourers in India*

Neera Burra

"Child Labour in India: Poverty, Exploitation and Vested Interest", *Social Action*, 36, July-September 1986, (248-50).

Rural indebtedness is one of the most important causes of child labour in India.[1] Almost 73 per cent of child labourers are put to work by their own parents or guardians.[2]

Children are bonded both in the rural agricultural and in the urban unorganised sector. While there are many definitions of bondage, for the purpose of this article I use the term to refer to the master-labourer relationship, the principal feature of which is the pledging of children against a loan or an agreement between the child and the employer whereby the child would work throughout its life in exchange for money or food.

A study conducted by the Rural Wing of the National Labour Institute found that bonded children are the only easily available commodity all over Medak district in Andra Pradesh. The investigators found that in all the villages in Siddipet, Medak and Gogipet *talukas* that they surveyed, children were chained to landlords and moneylenders. In some villages, landlords depended entirely on the labour of bonded children.[3]

Children are bonded for several reasons. A parent (or a close relative) who has an immediate need for money to pay for medical treatment of a spouse or another child takes a loan from a moneylender/contractor/landlord and agrees to let a healthier child work without realising the harm that is being done to the bonded child.[4] Often the children thus bonded are below the age of 10.

Most often the child, once bonded, remains till it is able to buy freedom by giving its own offspring in bondage. At other times children are forced to sell themselves. Sudipto Mundle[5] describes the life of Ram Lakhan who sold himself for ten rupees when he was five years old and his parents died. He had nothing to eat, so he appealed to the local moneylender to give him ten rupees. The moneylender gave him the loan on condition that the labour of Ram Lakhan's life belonged exclusively to him till such time as the loan was paid off with interest.

Children are pledged by their parents and relatives even in the urban unorganised sector. Says Christopher Daniel[6] "... pledging the labour of young children by their parents or guardians to the employers in match factories and bidi factories is prevalent in remote parts of the country". In a study conducted in the Sivakasi match factory in Tamilnadu, Manu Kulkarni was told by one women that:

> the child in the 'womb' is pledged to the factory and consumption and maternity loans are obtained on the undertaking that the child born, girl or boy, would work for the factory.[7]

Yet another study states:

> Inquiries show that the factories engage agents to procure child labour. Often money is advanced to children rather than their parents and this keeps them bound to the employer.[8]

Gangrade and Gathia's study of carpet weavers in Varanasi reveals that:

> to keep the production cost low, the middlemen often suggest to the families to engage children under 12 years of age. They even pay advances of Rs. 400 to Rs. 500 for some family function and thus tie the child to work for them indirectly.[9]

The problem of bonded children is vast and it also reveals the helplessness of their parents. This helplessness can also be viewed as power over their children since they can in fact trade them like cattle. In fact, bidi workers in Vellore openly say that when everything else has gone, the only commodity they can trade is their children and mortgaging children to the bidi seths is a common phenomenon.[10] These children work without wages for 12 to 16 hours a day. Whenever wages are given, a part is deducted against the loan. In this as well as other industries at the most the child gets food to eat. That itself can continue their bondage. For example, when bonded children were released from Mirzapur and taken back to their parents, they came back to the loom owners. According to some of these children who had been tortured by their employers, life was still better while they worked because at home they faced starvation since many of them came from perennially drought-prone areas of Bihar and Orissa.

[1] Garg, R.B.L., "Fair Deal for Children", *Patriot*, New Delhi, November 28, 1980; Marla S., *Bonded Labour in India: National Survey on the Incidence of Bonded Labour. Final Report.* New Delhi: Biblia Impex Private Ltd., 1981, pp. 18-44.

[2] Juyal, B.N., *et al., Child Labour: The Twice Exploited.* Varanasi: Gandhian Institute of Studies, 1985; Ganguly, P., "Child Labour Laws Flouted with Impunity", *The Telegraph*, Calcutta, April 16, 1984; Singh, M. *et al., Working Children in Bombay - A Study.* New Delhi: NIPCCD, 1980.

[3] Rural wing, NLI, "The Dark World of Jeeta Gadus", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, XL, 3, pp. 539-545.

[4] Marla, S., "Bonded Labour in Medak District, A.P.", *NLI Bulletin*, 3, 10, 1977, pp. 424-430.

[5] Mundle, S., "The Bonded of Palamau", *Economic and Political Weekly*, XI, 18, pp. 653-6.

[6] Daniel, C., "Child Worker Has Come to Stay", *Social Welfare*, XXXII, 8, 1976, pp. 6-9.

[7] Kulkaarni, M.N., "Match-making Children in Sivakasi", *Economic and Political Weekly*, XVIII, 43, pp. 185-6.

[8] Sarma, A.M., "Child Labour in Indian Industries", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, XL, 3, pp. 345-352.

[9] Gangrade, K.D. and A.J. Gathia, *Women and Child Workers in the Unorganised Sector.* New Delhi: Concept House Publishing Co., 1983, pp. 4-5.

[10] Mehta, M., "How Children are Exploited in Socialist India", *Organiser*, January 1983.

48. *Street Children and Youth in Bogotá and Washington D.C.*

Forest B. Tyler, Sandra L. Tyler, Anthony Tomasello and Mark R. Connolly

"Huckleberry Finn and Street Youth Everywhere: An Approach to Primary Prevention", in Albee, G.W., Bond, L.A., and Cook Monsey, T.V. (eds), *Improving Children's Lives: Global Perspectives on Prevention.* Newbury Park, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1992 (202-6).

Two of our projects with street youth may serve to illustrate the consequences of using a competency approach. One project was in Bogotá, Colombia; the second was in the Washington, DC, area. Both were developed in response to requests from individuals in frontline agencies who were working directly with street youth.

In 1982, Sandy Tyler was working with an organization providing health care to kids on Bogotá's streets. The workers asked us to help them document the lives of street youth from the point of view of the youth, not that of organized society. Over the next five years we collaborated to build a structured interview schedule, train street workers to conduct interviews, analyze the results, and build a training guide for use with the workers.

The kids answered a series of open-ended questions about their lives and experiences. They also rated themselves on the five-point scales we used to measure psychosocial competence and environmental variables on which the research and intervention was focused. The youth rated their perceptions of their own self-efficacy, trust, and level of coping in four settings: in general, at home, in institutions, and on the street. They also rated the personal and physical supports and threats in those settings. Scale scores are the sum of the ratings in each category.

In 1987 a Washington, DC organization invited us to help develop an outreach program for street kids from Latin America. We expanded our approach and adapted our interview to look more closely at substance use and the life context of these youth. For purposes of comparison, we interviewed 21 non-Latino youth in a runaway shelter in the Washington suburbs. There were 14 girls and 7 boys, with an average age of 16.

Our Bogotá interviews included 94 boys under age 18 who live on the streets. On the average, they were age 13 and had left home at the age of 8. Most of them were first- and second-born sons, highly valued children in Colombian society. Many had been sexually or physically abused, shot, or stabbed.

They lived by a combination of legal and illegal activities. They did not fit stereotypes of immature, greedy, self-centred, antisocial delinquents. Rather, many were responsible for someone else. When asked about home and institutions, they valued being cared for and having opportunities to contribute and/or to learn. They disliked abuse and betrayal. In fact, that is why they left their homes and institutions — they were not family or institutional rejects. When asked what they wished for, only 7 of 258 wishes were antisocial or destructive. They wanted psychological supports, relationships, and a role in society. Less frequently, they wished for biological necessities, such as food and shelter.

The youth reported that, when not working, they enjoyed a wide range of activities, including destructive ones such as drinking and taking drugs. A substantial number were sexually active. They were also children who made their own toys, played soccer and other games in the parks, splashed in the public fountains, and slipped into the movies.

We are now analyzing the Washington, DC interviews and finding some interesting similarities and differences with the Bogotá sample. We interviewed 49 males and 8 females; 68% were from El Salvador. They were older than the Bogotá youth, with an age range of 13 to 21 years and an average age of 17.7. Those who had left home did so, on the average, at age 15. Of the sample, 49% were first- or second-born children, and they were not as unlinked from their families as the Bogotá kids. Some 65% reported that others were responsible for others. These kids were involved in a wide range of jobs to support themselves. A small number also stole, borrowed or begged, and did odd jobs. During free time they enjoyed sports, movies, television, talking with friends, and "hanging around". What they liked best about home and institutions were family, friends, and learning; they disliked "problems," discipline, and rules.

Many of these kids are immigrants, some without papers. After seeing friends and relatives killed, they came to the United States with their families or on their own to escape that violence. They may be living with relatives or parents, but are still responsible for themselves. In any case, they must deal with being caught between two cultures, often feeling they belong to neither. About life in the United States, they liked work, freedom, and opportunities for education; they liked least discrimination, drugs, and crime.

In these groups we looked at self-efficacy, self-world (trust), and behavioural coping scores as well as the perceptions of personal and physical supports and threats. They rated themselves in their overall lives, their homes, schools, institutions, and the streets...

The D.C. Latino youth reported themselves at home to be highly trusting, somewhat less self-efficacious, and even lower on active coping, but overall rated themselves most competent there. From home to the streets to institutions, it was downhill. The D.C. shelter youth gave almost the opposite picture, except that their ratings of active coping tended to be higher than their ratings of self-efficacy, at least on the streets and in institutions. The Bogotá youth rated themselves most self-efficacious at home and in institutions; on the open streets, where they were on their own, they were substantially more active copers and least trusting.

All of these youth readily differentiated among these settings in ways that reflected their realities. Regression analyses showed that for all three groups, levels of self-efficacy, trust, and coping were related primarily to perceived levels of personal supports. The exceptions were as follows: For the Bogotá youth in institutions, levels of trust were negatively related to the presence of physical threats and positively related to physical supports. For the D.C. Latino youth in institutions, psychosocial characteristics were related to physical supports, not personal supports. For the shelter youth at school, ratings of self-efficacy and levels of coping were negatively related to personal threats.

Overall, in spite of their hard lives, these street youth were amazingly less bitter than we had any reason to expect. They wanted to love and be loved, to have a role and to contribute. Their senses of self, of the world, and of how to negotiate their lives reflected their realities and the supports in them. They were aware of threats and dangers, but not driven by them.

49. *Street Children of Cali*

Lewis Aptekar

Street Children of Cali. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1988 (xx-xxi).

Three "established" hypotheses for the causes of street children existed before we did our study. The first of these, which had its core in economics, stated that, as recent migrants from rural areas in search of work, the children were unskilled and therefore unable to compete for scarce employment. They were forced to work at an early age, or worse, were abandoned because there was no money to raise them. A second hypothesis concerned the internal dynamics of the family, which was said to have been headed by a frustrated and aggressive male stepfather and a wife victimized by his abuse. The tension eventually was transferred to the children, who were forced out of the home. The third hypothesis posited that the children lived in delinquent neighborhoods where the culture or values were not conducive to productive lives. However, these three hypotheses failed to take into account why the majority of children who were exposed to one or more of these conditions did not leave their families. The hypotheses also failed to explain why street children were perceived as being almost exclusively male. As the study shows, these hypotheses were ethnocentric assumptions made by the dominant social class, which felt itself in jeopardy from the presence of so many street children.

Colombian society is composed of two different family structures: the patriarchal Spanish family and the matriarchal African family. The former demands sons' obedience to their families while the latter, in order to strengthen their sons' independence, casts them out. The two family structures also have different relationships to their daughters.

The class and cultural differences of the two groups historically have brought them into conflict, and continue to do so. This conflict is exacerbated by the presence of street children. Street children have been perceived by the dominant patriarchal family as symbolic images of youth not obligated to follow adult demands, and thus they were viewed as threatening the "rights" of parents to demand obedience from their children. They were "symbolic images" in that society reacted to them beyond their mere presence; they became "examples" of possible, if not probable disorder to the established pattern of family and social class control. In good part this is why the children's abilities to cope and to fend for themselves were ignored by society while their lack of respect for authorities and their petty delinquency were exaggerated. The street children had unwillingly become a kind of weapon in the larger struggle between the disparate familial, cultural, and economic elements of Colombia.

In addition to these sociological and historical reasons for attitudes toward street children, there were other, more personal or psychological reasons that explained why people reacted to them as they did. Part of each person's emotional reaction to the street children could be explained in terms of the internal struggle between compliance with social norms in order to get societal status, and noncompliance, with concomitantly less security. The inevitable compromise, made as part of growing into adulthood, was felt by some adults to be fair, while others resented it. The particular attitude an individual had towards street children, that is, whether they were pitied, envied, or seen as threatening, depended on how that individual reacted to the compromise he himself had made.

Existing public and private programs for street children usually incorporate the prevailing, misinformed point of view about the children and thus often dwell on ways to help street children "adjust" to society. As a rule, programs for the children fail to note that there are a variety of children with different problems and assets and that several training approaches would be more appropriate than relying on one approach for all the children. Generally speaking, the programs train children to be obedient workers, usually emphasizing artisan skills. This fails to take into account the differences between those children who are simply poor and the many street children whose unique experience give them good prospects to earn a living outside of the artisan class. It also ignores the importance of society's attitudes, which must ultimately be changed, with the help of the children themselves, so that the children and the society can live together more harmoniously.

EVIDENCE

Primary Education

Primary education is almost always the poor relation within an education system, with less prestige and lower resources than secondary or higher education. Yet it is the bedrock of future national development. The precise evidence showing the economic returns to any nation of investment in the primary sector of education can be contrasted with data about the negative effects of structural adjustment on this sector.

50. *Primary School Enrolments and Economic Growth*

Alexander L. Peaslee

"Primary School Enrolments and Economic Growth", *Comparative Education Review*, February 1967, (66-7).

The 34 leading countries in terms of production per capita all achieved a primary enrollment of over 10 per cent of the total population before showing their most significant economic progress. No country has achieved significant economic growth within the past hundred years without first attaining the 10 per cent level.

Statistically, there may be a closer relationship between proportions of school age children in school and growth than there is between enrollment as a proportion of the total population and growth. This is an area for further study, although the two ratios may both turn out to be good indicators of growth. (Data on proportions of school age children actually enrolled are scarcer than statistics on enrollment and total population. In some cases it has been possible to compare, to a limited extent, enrollment ratios to total population and to school age population. The second ratio does not appear to be definitely more clearly related to economic growth.) Developing countries generally have young populations, as did the now-developed countries in the nineteenth century. Whether the impact on an entire society of 10 per cent of its population in school is more important than having practically all of the school age children in school is not clear. It does appear, however, that the more rapidly the population increases, the farther above the 8 or 10 per cent level the enrollment reaches, the greater the prospects are for economic growth. Average attendance, when available, is a better measure than enrollment...

Experience in terms of the relationship of education and economic growth suggests that the former preceded and accompanied the latter. It suggests that emphasis first on primary education has been associated with economic growth more than has initial emphasis on secondary or higher education.

Obviously, in the complexities of economic development, education is not the only factor. But primary education particularly appears to have been often overlooked in the consideration of other factors.

51. *The Economic Returns to Education*

George Psacharopoulos

"Returns to Education: A Further International Update and Implications", *Journal of Human Resources*, XX (4), (Fall 1985), (591-2).

Underinvestment exists at all levels of education, especially in Africa. This proposition is supported by evidence that the social returns to education in the region are well above any plausible social discount rate used in project evaluation.

Primary schooling remains the number-one priority for investment. This is evidenced by the fact that the social rate of return to primary education exceeds by several percentage points the returns to secondary and higher education.

The degree of public subsidization of higher education is such that there is considerable margin for reducing subsidy levels. This stems from the calculations that a reduction of public subsidies to higher education would drive down the private rate closer to the social rate, still leaving an attractive return to private investment. The savings from the reduction of university subsidies could be used to expand primary education.

Reducing public subsidies to higher education and reallocating them to primary education would have additional benefits that can be viewed as equitable. To a great extent, universities are attended by those who can afford to pay, whereas the less well-off portion of the population would now find educational opportunities more open and accessible.

Expanding the provision of school places to cover women is not only equitable but socially efficient as well. Although counter-intuitive, this proposition is based on the evidence that the rate of return to women's education is at least as attractive as the rate of return on investment for men.

Within the secondary or university level, the general curricula or programs offer as good investment opportunities as the more vocational pursuits. This is because the higher unit costs of vocational/technical education depress the social rate of return to this type of schooling.

52. *Schooling's Contribution to Economic Output*

Martin Carnoy

The Case for Investing in Basic Education. New York: UNICEF, 1992 (33-8).

Something happens in schooling that results in improved economic performance, especially for those who complete levels of schooling. There are four major explanations of why basic education makes such a contribution.

(1) In today's world, basic education is fundamental to developing skills crucial for economic survival and progress. These skills are the ability to perform basic mathematical operations and the ability to read and write — numeracy and literacy. They are the communicative arts of modern society. Every child can learn them, just as they learn to speak the language of their family and community. Schools should be seen as the guarantors for every youth's acquiring such skills, just as traditional societies guaranteed that each of their members would be initiated into a social role. For traditional societies, the initiation of youth into adult roles enables those societies to reproduce their culture and their economic survival. For modern societies, numeracy and literacy serve much the same purpose. These skills make people better at producing material goods, at following directions and at making judgements in work. Such qualities in the workforce improve productivity and therefore economic output.

(2) Economist Theodore Schultz[1] argues that the main contribution of education is in improving individuals' ability to use available resources to produce goods and services — what he calls adjusting to economic disequilibrium. A number of studies on using resources in US agriculture show two important findings: first, that farmers with more education get much higher gains in income from the use of new technologies; and second, that farmers with more education adjust more rapidly to technological changes — they tend to adopt the new technology sooner and are more likely to make the economic changes dictated by the new technology so as to increase their income. This ability to adjust to change and to adopt new ways of doing things more quickly is partly the result of having technical skills, such as numeracy and literacy, but it is also partly due to being socialized into the process of change and decision-making.

Schultz's interpretation of schooling's contribution to increased productivity assumes that the person with the additional education is in a position to make better decisions. The decision-making function is usually restricted to those who are self-employed or in a high enough employed position to have decision-making responsibility. If Schultz is right, we would expect that the payoff to basic education in low-income developing countries is greater when those who have it are in positions where they can make decisions — for example, small farmers rather than farm labourers or small-scale entrepreneurs rather than employed semi-skilled workers. But the economic returns to education should also be higher to employed workers in job situations where they are counted on to make judgements rather than simply follow orders.[2] For example, the Ford engine plant in Chihuahua or Japanese auto manufacturing plants are more worker-decision oriented and hence put more emphasis on worker education than the more usual hierarchical firms.

Schultz's idea also has implications for women's education. As women become more educated, the economic payoffs to their schooling should be higher in those activities where they have more say about resource allocation and responses to change. One reason that development projects aimed at women have difficulty succeeding is their failure to give women decision-making power over resource use. On the opposite side of the coin, countries that do not provide quality basic education to women often fail to increase productivity in rural areas or in the informal sector because women are the ones who make the decisions in the use of family resources or market the products produced at the farm.

(3) Another reason given for basic education's contribution to productivity is that it socializes young people into functioning effectively in modern society.[3] This explanation argues that through its very structure and the kind of behaviour it demands from children, basic education prepares them to function well in employment situations. As "modern" institutions, schools teach children to work in response to modern stimuli and inculcate in them values and norms that are consistent with productive behaviour in factories, banks and even agricultural cooperatives. Schooled youth become more competent to deal with the requirements of an urban, industrialized society and with its institutional organizations.

By teaching young people how to be effective in modern organizations, schools help them respond more quickly, willingly and predictably to demands from supervisors. And schooled youth may learn how to work effectively with others in an organizational setting — becoming what are known as "team players" — since that type of behaviour is also rewarded in school.

(4) Some argue that what is learned in school — whether cognitive skills or certain types of behaviour — is not nearly as important to future productivity as simply succeeding at what school demands.[4] Success may mean learning the skills that school asks the child to learn or completing a particular level of schooling. The very fact of "success" in school symbolizes social approval. It signifies that the young person is more likely to do well in the society beyond the school.[5]

This is a powerful message. As long as it is confirmed by the person's experiences after graduating from school, such as being able to earn a livelihood, it makes individuals easy to convince that they can learn new tasks, make appropriate decisions and choices and shoulder responsibility. These are all the characteristics of a highly productive person. Some would define these characteristics as "trainability" or "learnability". People who are successful in school are those who have shown that they can learn new things and carry them through. In effect, basic education is a training ground for further training or learning. And the jobs or types of self-employment that provide the most training and learning require the most schooling to ready young people to get them. This is not so much because of the math and language skills these prospective employees pick up in school, but rather because of the skills they receive in learning how to learn.

In this argument, if basic education is to develop economically productive individuals, its principal objective must be to make all children "successful" in school. Such an objective is presently at odds with the conception of basic education as a "filter". That filter acts to select those relatively few children who can succeed at the tasks basic education places before them from the large majority of children who will "fail" at these tasks and will not complete their education. If the "learnability" explanation is correct, this majority of children, even if they are literate and numerate as a result of some years of basic education, consider themselves "failures" and are considered untrainable and unlearning by the labour market. Because of the symbolism of their failure, they are indeed slower learners and unlikely to get work that requires further learning. As schooling expands, and the definition of basic education changes to include more years of schooling, the filter becomes longer and the definition of school success and failure also changes. Even youths that complete secondary education could eventually be made to feel unsuccessful, untrainable and unlearning, as is now happening in the United States.

53. *The Effects of Structural Adjustment on Education in Latin America*

Fernando Reimers

"The Impact of Economic Stabilization and Adjustment on Education in Latin America", *Comparative Education Review*, 35 (2), (322-8).

What has been the impact of adjustment programs implemented during this past decade in government financing of education? First the growth of educational expenditures in real terms slowed down. With rising populations, these decreases led to net reductions in expenditures on education per capita as can be seen in table 1.

Table 1 - Total government expenditures in education per person in millions of 1985 $US, in Latin America by country, 1975-85

Country	Expenditure Per Capita in Constant U.S. $1985			Annual Growth Rates (%)		
	1975	1980	1985	1975-80	1980-85	1975-85
Argentina	63.37	93.60	39.28	8.11	-15.94	-4.67
Bolivia	24.07	28.75	1.88	3.62	-42.03	-22.50
Brazil	42.69	59.10	58.92	6.72	-0.06	3.27
Chile	43.98	65.28	51.98	8.22	-4.45	1.69
Colombia	22.01	22.33	...	0.29	...	...
Costa Rica	65.85	123.88	65.13	13.47	-12.07	-0.11
Dominican Republic	15.24	17.10	12.06	2.34	-6.75	-2.31
Ecuador	35.59	71.38	44.30	14.93	-9.10	2.21
El Salvador	34.28	36.31	22.87	1.16	-8.83	-3.97
Guatemala	19.24	27.12	21.19	7.11	-4.82	0.97
Haiti	3.62	6.19	4.48	11.31	-6.28	2.14
Honduras	26.83	27.34	33.14	0.37	3.93	2.13
Mexico	70.60	67.76	56.77	-0.82	-3.48	-2.16
Nicaragua	37.97	32.56	48.95	-3.03	8.49	2.57
Panama	103.35	101.69	108.72	-0.32	1.35	0.51
Paraguay	9.98	14.11	12.70	7.17	-2.08	2.44
Peru	35.16	31.54	23.32	-2.15	-5.86	-4.02
Uruguay	...	46.01	42.27	...	-1.68	...
Venezuela	206.25	193.73	185.66	-1.24	-0.85	-1.05
Unweighted Average Growth				4.29	-6.14	-1.34

Source: United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook 1984, 1987* (New York: United Nations); and M. Lockheed and A. Verspoor, "Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries: A Review of Policy Options", (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1989).

While per capita expenditures in education decreased in real terms in five countries between 1975 and 1980, they declined in 16 countries between 1980 and 1985. The only exceptions are Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. In 1985 Panama had, after Haiti, the lowest level of external debt servicing as a percentage of exports, with the consequent lesser pressure to adjust its economy. The Central American conflict translated into high levels of foreign aid to Honduras, which contributed to a reduction in pressures. A higher priority accorded to education during the Nicaraguan revolution may explain the drastic increase in the growth rate of

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[1] Schultz, T., *Human Capital in Restoring Equilibrium*, Paper presented at the Conference on Human Capital and Economic Growth, Institute for the Study of Free Enterprise Systems, State University of New York at Buffalo, May 1989.

[2] Levin, H.M., "Improving Productivity through Education and Technology", in Burke, G., and Rumberger, R. (eds), *The Future Impact of Technology on Work and Education*. London: The Falmer Press, 1987.

[3] Inkeles, A. and Smith, D., *Becoming Modern*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.

[4] Arrow, K., "Higher Education as a Filter", *Journal of Public Economics*, (2) 1973; Carnoy, M. and Levin, H., *Schooling and Work in the Democratic State*. Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 1985.

[5] Carnoy, M., 1990, (producer) *Opening the Door: Education and Productivity*, Film sponsored by the ILO, presented at the Education for All Conference, Jomtien, Thailand.

expenditures from 1.63 per cent per year between 1975 and 1980 to 12.47 per cent per year between 1980 and 1985. *On average, (unweighted) per capita expenditures in education in Latin America increased by 4.29 per cent per year between 1975 and 1980, while they decreased by 6.14 per cent between 1980 and 1985. The progress in educational finance made in the seventies was undone in the eighties.*

These cuts have been so disproportionate to the trends of government expenditures that since 1970 education has also declined relative to total government expenditures or to GNP.

These data support the hypothesis that adjustment programs created the climate that prompted not only cuts in education expenditures in real terms but also a reduction of the levels of education expenditures relative to total expenditures of the government and to GNP. This indicates that the education sector suffered disproportionately the adjustment burden and that the promises of the seventies were dashed in the eighties. But the impact does not stop there. Changes in the structure of the education budget, that are not justified on efficiency and equity grounds, accompanied these reductions.

Because of institutional and structural rigidities in the formulation of the education budget, and because budgeting is not only a technical activity but also a political one, some items are easier to cut than others. Particularly affected are school buildings; hence the percentage of recurrent expenditures increased in most of the countries between 1980 and 1986. Expenditures in teaching materials also suffer disproportionately as do lower levels of education.

The decline in the levels of expenditures for education should be interpreted in the context of education systems that have not yet reached universal enrolments and that still need to improve the internal efficiency of primary education. ... [B]etween 1980 and 1985 there were declines in net enrolment ratios in six countries (Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, and El Salvador). In six additional countries increases in net enrolment ratios averaged less than 1 per cent a year. Only eight countries increased net enrolment ratios by more than 1 per cent per year. This suggests that the adjustment made it more difficult to universalize access to primary education; ... inequities remained, as those children left out of school were primarily from poorer families.

Expenditure reductions have to be interpreted also in the context of high levels of inefficiency in educational systems. Although the percentage of children who repeated primary education since 1975 improved, this figure still averaged over 11 per cent by 1985. This suggests that 11 per cent of the resources of primary education are wasted — this percentage of children will repeat the same grade the following year. Paradoxically, however, the budget cuts may make it less likely for education systems to explore ways to improve internal efficiency — most of the budget goes toward teacher salaries that are in turn highly deteriorated in real terms. This is not a climate that will promote experimentation, evaluation, and problem solving.

With the decline in public basic education, private schools saw increasing enrolments in eight countries and declining enrolments in seven countries. This increase in private demand could worsen equity as the poor have fewer resources to contribute to the education of their children and as the "flight" of better-off students from public schools diminishes the political pressure to maintain their quality, thereby deepening the divisions between "elite" and public schools.

This evidence then suggests that the disproportionate reductions in educational expenditures resulting from the adjustment programs that Latin American countries implemented during the 1980s led to distortions in the structure of education budgets, distortions that seem inconsistent with efficiency (e.g. teachers without teaching materials, dilapidated buildings) or equity criteria (e.g., disproportionate impact in primary education).

EVIDENCE

The Relationship between School and Work

The interplay between the pull and push factors of school and work are more complex than might be imagined. Schools can push children out by providing inappropriate education, both in terms of content and teaching methods. Parents and children may view work as more educational than school, and may also have to take into account the loss of earnings represented by school attendance as well as the hidden costs of schooling, such as uniforms.

There is, as yet, scant information on the effects of work on children's school performance, although the readings provided here are a guide to the complexity of the topic and some of the hypotheses that would be worth further study.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

54. *The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning*

Philip J. Foster

"The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning", in Anderson, C.A. and Bowman, M.J. (eds), *Education and Economic Development*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965 (155-7).

It is at the intermediate levels of technical and vocational training that the greatest difficulties arise. Many observers acquainted with the development of intermediate technical institutes and vocational schools in underdeveloped areas are only too aware that many institutions built at considerable cost remain partially empty or are filled with students who are for the most part composed of "rejects" from selective academic-type institutions. This is a situation that the technical schools are likely to face for some time. In itself, this is not disastrous since it implies that intermediate technical schools must reconcile themselves to being unable to choose freely the most able students. But there is also a subtle pressure developed which tends to transform these schools progressively into academic institutions. Students at entry frequently do not regard their courses as terminal, leading directly to artisan work; instead they regard them as "stepping stones" to enable them to enter professional-type courses. In some areas disturbances have resulted when students were not allowed to take pre-university examinations. It must be recognized that wherever technical education is given largely in institutions which are part of the formal educational structure, the expectations of the students may pervert the intentions of the planners.

Furthermore, there is a need to examine most carefully the actual courses given in such institutions. To a considerable degree in colonial and former colonial territories the pressure to emulate the standards of the metropole has led to a remarkably generous investment in institutions that provide lengthy and elaborate instruction. In practice, certain specific forms of vocational education may in consequence become quite dysfunctional in terms of the later work experience of trainees. To be sure skilled artisans are produced, but in some cases they may be trained on technical equipment that simply cannot be matched outside the schools. Training which is closely related to work situations is very desirable; yet it is strange that although marked criticisms are often made of the "deadwood" and inappropriate content of academic curricula, there is little realization that technical curricula may also be ossified and irrelevant. This argues not only for a careful examination of what the schools teach, but also for the provision of "sandwich" courses in technical schools alternating with on-the-job experience. Such an approach narrows the gap between formal vocational instruction and actual work situations. Some African territories must be commended for initiating developments in this direction.

When all is said and done, however, vocational and technical training must be carried on mainly outside formal institutions. There is ample precedent for this in the West, whose early expansion was facilitated by a host of informal educational and training programs outside the schools. Some readers may rejoin that such alternative institutions as apprenticeship do not exist in Africa and that this necessarily throws the burden of training on the schools. This is not altogether true. For example, a considerable amount of road transport in West Africa is serviced and maintained not by highly trained operators but by "bush mechanics" who themselves have very little formal instruction. Upon this basis has developed a burgeoning system of informal apprenticeship; though most of the instruction is extremely rudimentary, here is an expanding base which can be built upon. The provision of short courses and up-grading instruction for this sector of workers would provide an opportunity to develop on the basis of a going concern. The plain fact of the matter is that there are more opportunities for this kind of training than most of the large-scale planners are prepared to admit.

Second, there is opportunity to capitalize upon the labor needs of existing industrial and commercial firms. It is not infrequent to hear the schools criticized by some of the larger concerns for not producing the kind of people needed in their activities. Most of these complaints rest upon a totally unrealistic notion of what schools can do. What these complaints do show, rather, is the need for stimulating these employers to undertake their own training programs, since they have a clearer definition of their requirements. It is heartening to observe that some of the larger companies are moving in this direction. Such activities are clearly advantageous to both employer and government, and there is no reason why training of this type should not be aided through tax remissions or partial government subsidy. It is important for the governments of these areas to appreciate that the best kind of vocational education is that which is partially paid for by those who participate in the market for the skills to which the training is directed.

Furthermore, the direct role of government as the largest single employer of skilled labor cannot be ignored. In most areas the public service has been obliged to develop its own vocational training schemes connected with railways and harbors, roads, and a number of other activities. These training schemes are not directly part of the formal educational system, but they have the great advantage of being adjusted closely to the quantitative and qualitative requirements of employment. Interestingly enough, these programs are often not included in official enumerations of students undergoing vocational training. Such activities constitute another existing base upon which vocational training can be developed and expanded without complicating the task of already overloaded schools. The expansion of ongoing programs is likely to be more economical and the wastage of trainees is almost certainly likely to be less than it has been from vocational training schools which are part of the formal educational system.

Particular importance must be attached, in the context of the new African nations, to one group who are of immense strategic importance for the growth of local economies — the local small-scale entrepreneurs who are to be found in increasing numbers in trade, commerce, transport, and small-scale manufacturing. To a great extent these are the "forgotten men" in development plans. Yet it may be suggested that the quickening in the rate of economic growth will be largely dependent upon their activities. However, the majority of these businessmen possess limited education and lack knowledge of elementary business procedures that would enable them to survive and expand their activities. There is no shortage of business acumen in many parts of Africa, but there is a deficient mastery of routine procedures of stock-taking, simple accounting, and management; many small-scale enterprises fail for lack of these skills. There is a good case to be made for providing instruction in simple business procedures to this class of person through the development of extension courses, both residential and nonresidential. This aspect of adult education is particularly valuable in the urban areas, and it has the advantage that there is no lack of direct incentive to acquire useful techniques on the part of businessmen themselves. In this context it should be noted that the provision of short courses for small-scale traders has met with some success in some parts of East Africa, an area in which development is at a far lower level than in West Africa.

55. *The Political Context of Vocationalization of Education*

Kazim Bacchus

"The Political Context of Vocationalization of Education", in Lauglo, J. and Lillis, K. (eds), *Vocationalizing Education: An International Perspective.* Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988 (42-3).

The export-oriented development strategy which has been pursued by many developing countries has created little new employment opportunity for workers with a higher level of vocational or technical skill than those which could be easily acquired on the job. If the production process is not automated it is usually of the type that needs only "screwdriver technology", in such a situation it is not surprising that only a restricted amount of development has taken place in most of these countries, even though growth rates were sometimes quite respectable. With the failure of the current development strategies to do much to improve the standard and quality of life in the traditional sector, it is not surprising that the political leaders and their key policymakers continue to think that some changes in the curriculum content of schools, such as diversification, the linking of practical work with academic studies or providing work experiences as part of general education, would help to solve their unemployment problems.

In fact, whenever an economic crisis or major economic problem arises in these countries, such as the current increase in the numbers of "educated unemployed", the policymakers resurrect such solutions as vocationalizing the school curriculum. This continues despite the fact that the available research evidence indicates that manipulation of school variables, whether by modifying the curriculum or developing new educational programs, will not by itself help to overcome the problems of underdevelopment or unemployment. It can be argued that continuing concern with issues such as the vocationalization of the curriculum only draws attention and efforts away from the more important and burning issue of developing strategies that might produce more effective development.

It is only after a country comes up with an appropriate development strategy that educational change, such as the introduction of vocational or pre-vocational subjects, might increase the contribution of education towards raising general productivity. In such a changed context education might help with efforts to grapple with problems of underdevelopment, especially in the traditional sector and the seemingly intractable problem of unemployment which results from it. But this requires the kind of development strategy and the political will and determination to implement it, which most political leaders in the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) have not been prepared to demonstrate, at least up to this point of time.

One needs to recognize that these efforts are greatly affected by the attitudes and practices of the economically more developed countries. But it is insufficient for Third World leaders to be passive in such a situation and simply wait until the Most Developed Countries (MDCs) realize the need to respond more positively to the demands of the LDCs for a new international economic order. The crux of the argument in this chapter is simply that any educational strategy, such as the inclusion of practical/vocational subjects in the curriculum of schools in the LDCs, can only be made effective if it is an integral part of an overall development strategy pursued by these countries.

SCHOOL ENROLMENT, ATTENDANCE AND WORK

56. *Learning or Labouring: A False Dilemma*

Walter Alarcon Glasmovitch

"Trabajar o estudiar: un falso dilema", Chapter 8 of *Entre calles y plazas: el trabajo de los niños en Lima*. Peru: IEP, UNICEF and ADEC/ATC, 1991 (translation by Judith Ennew).

One first aspect to clarify is that, as various studies have shown, the great majority of working children in Lima study as well. Indeed, for many children it is work that makes it possible for them to go to school, in the sense that part of their income, the product of their labour, is intended for the purchase of the materials necessary for school. This also seems to underline the complementary character of these activities.

... But what do children say about it? In the following pages we wish to analyse the perceptions working children have about their work and school activities.

The figures in Table 1 show that the majority of working schoolchildren interviewed felt that their work activities do interfere with their studies. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that only 16% of the total perceived work as a significant obstacle to better school results, although at the other extreme we found 36% of children interviewed for whom participation in the labour force did not have any effect on their school performance.

Table 1 - Does working get in the way of your school work?

A lot	16.4%
A little	47.4%
Not at all	36.0%
Total	100.0%

(N=176)

If we divide the sample and fix our attention exclusively on those cases who feel that work is a negative influence on learning we can have a more exact idea of the problem under analysis — see Table 2.

Table 2 - Ways in which work gets in the way of schooling

It takes away time from homework	33.6%
Coming to school tired	28.3%
Getting to school late	24.8%
Other	13.3%
Total	100.0%

(N=113)

Table 2: Work can have two principal negative effects on children: lack of time and tiredness. This

might indicate that long working days or the type of task the children do is the underlying cause, which leads us to a critique of child labour occurring in exploitative conditions; nevertheless, even though this is certain, the other side of the problem is the school. The working child encounters difficulties in making his work activities compatible with the hours and teaching methods used in school.

We arrive at a central point in the analysis. We know that working means having less potential time to spare for studying; in addition, work necessarily leads to the child's exhaustion. On one hand we have these effects of child work. But ... in general terms, whether or not they work, children have the same level of achievement. That is to say, they begin by being unequal and end by being the same. This suggests that work could be developing in children certain skills and personality characteristics that allow them to arrest the counterproductive effects that work itself can produce (exhaustion and lack of time). Thus work not only produces negative effects, but it is also possible that it also promotes the formation of certain positive features that allow working children to obtain academic results similar to the group of children that study exclusively.

Naturally this hypothesis needs to be qualified. Certain tasks, because of the conditions in which they take place, are absolutely negative for the child's development. There is still much about this to be investigated. Nevertheless, to be certain of this proposition one would have to raise the subject of the principles that sustain the current education system to split itself from knowledge of the world of work.

The current school system assumes that the child must dedicate itself exclusively to study, which is not possible in the particular situation of a sector of children in low income households. The organisation of schools is not structured with respect to these poorest children, but based on a model that has nothing to do with large groups of children in our country.

Returning to the analysis of Table 2 one should remember that the reasons given by the children for feeling the effects of working could be synthesized into one fundamental issue: the long duration of the child's working day. This has implications for physical exhaustion, the lack of time for study or play, the great risks of exposure to various dangers, etc. The school should, in consequence, take into consideration this particular aspect of child work.

If children believe that work affects their school performance in various ways do working children think it is important to go to school? In the last instance, what do they perceive as fundamental — working or studying? So we need to discover what value is given to schooling in the working child's view (Table 3).

For the working child, school is fundamental, even more important than his working activities. Put in the position of choosing between work and school the vast majority chose the latter. This reflects the prestige of formal education, a perception shared by parents and children. Children translate this notion into simple words such as that study will permit them to 'be someone'. The tasks they are now carrying out seem to them to be necessary, but transient. They hope to change their current circumstances, and for this they think it is necessary to attend school.

Table 3 - What is most important

To study	64.2%
To work	2.8%
Both	33.0%
Total	100.0%

(N=176)

Note, however, that one third of the schoolchildren interviewed did not prioritise either school or work. Both occupied the same level of importance for the daily life of one sector of child workers. The present is as important as the future. Perhaps this option might be an expression of reality for many children who work in order to be able to buy their school tools and uniforms, which are necessary to being able to attend school.

Certainly the most revealing factor in this question is the scant importance working children concede to their work in relation to school. Only three in every 100 children indicated that work is more important than school.

This information once again places to the fore the urgency of evaluating and defining alternatives with respect to formal education for working children. If they are indicating that school is more important than work, and if on the other hand we know that the majority of working children in a certain grade feel that their work activities affect them unfavorably in school, then it is imperative to act in this field.

Nevertheless, despite the importance awarded to study, when the school children who work are asked if they wish to leave work and dedicate themselves exclusively to study, the answers do not indicate any definite tendency (Table 4).

Table 4 - Would you like to leave work to dedicate yourself exclusively to study?

Yes I would like to	52.3%
No I would not like to	47.7%
Total	100.0%

(N=176)

One would expect that, given that for 64% of the sample studying is more important than working, the majority of them would indicate that they would like to leave work to dedicate themselves wholly to study. Nevertheless, this is not the case. A group of those children (around 12%) who indicated that school is more important than work said that, despite this, they would not stop working. That is to say, they have to work in spite of what they want.

To work or to study is not a possible dilemma in the social context in which these children are growing up. Work is inevitable because of family necessity, and the children take this for granted. Through this the child who works shows higher levels of responsibility and solidarity with his family, altering the classical image of the child (a stereotype that only corresponds to the realities of developed capitalist countries). In this sense, it is very interesting to know the reasons that explain why a sector of working children would not want to leave their working lives (see Table 5).

Table 5 - Reasons why they do not want to stop working

To be able to buy my tools and uniform	33.3%
Because the money is necessary in my home	32.1%
Because I like work	13.1%
Because work isn't a problem for me	7.1%
Other	6.1%
No answer	8.3%
Total	100.0%

(N=84)

To sum up, children do not want to leave school because they feel that their work is indispensable to satisfying their own needs and those of their families. In this context these children cannot just be school children, it is inevitable that they take part in both activities.

If school is important in that it opens future possibilities for them, the children who work and study do not have any alternative than to continue to take part in both activities. Thus, bearing in mind the increased labour force participation of this demographic group, work is a factor that must be taken into account in the education of children of the popular classes.

57. *Work and School: Potential Conflicts*

Deborah Levison

"Work and School: Potential Conficts", in Fyfe, A. (ed.), *Debates in Child Labour and Education.* ILO: Geneva, forthcoming.

Labor force work may potentially interfere with children's progress through school in a number of ways. In addition to direct conflicts between work and school schedules, working may also reduce the amount of time that children spend studying outside of school. Workers aged 10-14 study less than do nonworkers, on average. This pattern is consistent with a crowding-out explanation: At some point, children do not have enough time to increase work hours and study hours; one must crowd out the other. Not only labor force work can crowd out study time. Children in metropolitan Brazil usually spend more time on housework than on studying at home. Children who go to school spend a median of 7 hours per week studying at home, compared to 8 or 10 hours doing chores (depending on the age group). Average hours spent studying are somewhat higher for older children than for younger ones, but the difference is less than one hour per week.

Children who work in the labor force progress through school more slowly than other children. Among 10-year-olds, 32 per cent of nonworkers but only 21 per cent of workers have completed three years of primary school. Among 14-year-olds, 19 percent of nonworkers have completed seven years and 3 percent have not completed first grade. In contrast, only 10 per cent of workers have completed seven years, and 6 per cent of them have not completed first grade. Since some children do not even have the opportunity to enroll in school — due to lack of space in the school, for example — these results cannot be interpreted as meaning that going to school and working are incompatible activities. Some children may work because they are not in school.

Why do children enter the labor force? In 1982, Spindel[1] interviewed 800 child and adolescent workers in the South and Southeast and 127 in the Northeast. Her survey population only included minors with work cards — the elite among young workers. Still, it is of interest that 41 per cent of young workers in the South/Southeast began working for family reasons, mainly economic ones, as did 57 per cent of young workers in the Northeast. Forty-two per cent and 32 per cent in the South/Southeast and in the North, respectively, began working "to be independent." Smaller fractions, 12 and 5 per cent, respectively, worked in order to go to school.

In Spindel's sample, about 20 per cent of the younger workers kept all of their earnings for themselves. About 75 per cent kept part of their earnings and gave part to their families; the rest turned over all their earnings to their families. Spindel found that those who kept some or all of their earnings spent them for the most part on educational expenses and on clothing, food, transportation, and other necessities. Their desire for independence often seems to have had economic roots.

Is it "bad" for children and young adolescents to work? Spindel's evidence suggests that even some of the most privileged young workers are improving their own welfare and that of their families. Child workers in the PNAD-1985 survey come from families with per capita income levels which are only 62 per cent that of 7-14 year olds on average, and they would be even lower (58 per cent) without the earnings of the child workers, since children often earn substantial fractions of total family income. On the other hand, child workers are more likely to repeat grades or to drop out of school entirely. Perhaps these workers tend to be children with less scholastic aptitude on average — or perhaps they are discouraged by academic failure due to lack of study time and concentration, caused by long hours of work. Perhaps, on the other hand, they are victims of a dramatically unequal social structure, where schools in the poorest neighborhoods turn away children — or give them teachers who are barely educated themselves. The information provided by the PNAD is not sufficient to discover which of these competing hypotheses is correct.

If all other conditions were equal, would working negatively affect progress in school? Steinberg and Dornbusch summarize studies of student employment and its impact on schooling in the United States:

> ... studies that simply contrast workers and nonworkers rarely uncover significant employment effects, whereas those that contrast students who work long hours with those whose time commitment is more modest do find such effects. The emerging consensus among researchers is that the negative effects of employment are linked to how much, not whether, a student works ... Studies that examine weekly hours of employment generally find an important break-point in school performance at around 20 hours per week.[2]

Using a sample of about 4000 15-18 year olds in the United States, Steinberg and Dornbusch examine the relationship between weekly hours of employment and four sets of behavioral and psychosocial phenomena: (1) school performance and involvement; (2) psychological and behavioral dysfunction; (3) autonomy from parents; and (4) psychosocial development. They conclude that, "contrary to popular belief that working during adolescence is beneficial to young people's development, the findings presented here indicate that the correlates of school-year employment are generally negative". Although their study does not address the direction of causality between employment and the phenomena measured, they do find significant correlations:

> Long work hours during the school year are associated with lower investment and performance in school, greater psychological and somatic distress, drug and alcohol use, delinquency, and autonomy from parents. Workers do not have any advantage over nonworkers in self-reliance, work orientation, or self-esteem. The negative correlates of school-year employment are closely linked to the number of hours worked each week and generally cut across ethnic, socioeconomic, and age groups ...[3]

The Steinberg and Dornbusch study uses a population of presumably literate 15-18 year olds who for the most part have adequate levels of nutrition and have access to public schools of higher quality than do many Brazilian children. If long hours of employment have deleterious effects on these older, more privileged adolescents, what effects must they have on younger, almost certainly poorer, Brazilians? On the other hand, the U.S. study does not claim but suggests that long hours of employment cause negative effects on schooling. In Brazil, some children may increase their ability to go to school by working, or increase their ability to concentrate at school by earning money with which to supplement their diet. The different motivations for working — survival and basic education, versus consumerism and higher education — and the corresponding early maturity of poor Brazilian children versus the extended adolescence of many American teenagers may mean that the results of the U.S. study cannot be generalized to Brazil.

The evidence presented thus far does not suggest a straightforward negative relationship between children's labor force work and their progress through school. Even the correlations between school and work do not follow an unambiguous pattern. For example, both employment rates and school enrollment rates are relatively high in the southern metropolitan areas of Curitiba and Porto Alegre, and children in those areas have also completed more years of school than, for example, children of the same age in the Northeast. In the Northeast, where employment rates are above the metropolitan Brazil average and school enrollment rates are below the average, more children also fall into the "neither work nor go to school" category. The difference may be demand driven. That is, job availability could attract children into the labor force. Whether or not otherwise similar children work or do not work might depend on the available opportunities more than it depends on their backgrounds, abilities, and alternatives. Child wage rates are higher than average in the South and lower than average in the Northeast, and labor market conditions are generally considered stronger than average in the South but relatively weak in the Northeast. It may be that "demand driven" employment such as, apparently, that in the South has different effects on children's school behavior than does "supply driven" employment in the Northeast, where more poorer families use child labor as a survival strategy.

A comparison of family income before child earnings with the activities of 7-14 year olds shows that more children are out of school because of home responsibilities than are out of school and employed. Moreover, the fraction of children who juggle employment and school is considerably greater than the fraction of those who have left school in favor of the labor force. Children in poorer families are substantially more likely to be out of school or combining work and employment than are those at the upper end of the income distribution, although the fraction combining work and school declines much more slowly than does the fraction of children who are nonenrolled. Nonenrollment appears to be more highly correlated with poverty and its associated characteristics (nonwhite, low parentai education levels, and so forth) than does employment. This is not altogether surprising, since less privileged children probably have fewer employment opportunities.

School enrollment rates have been shown to increase with family income levels. Likewise, hours worked in the labor force decrease as family income increases. However, for children who work in the labor force, the school enrollment rate increases much more quickly, from the lowest-income to the highest-income families, than the average hours worked in the past week declines. The majority of 10-14 year old child workers are represented by the average hours at the lower end of the income distribution, where *hours worked in the past week* exceeds 30 hours per week on average. With such long work weeks, it is remarkable that so many children manage to remain in school, with such long work weeks.

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[1] Spindel, C.R., *O menor trabalhador: Um assalariado registrado*. São Paulo, Brazil: Nobel and Ministério do trabalho, 1985.

[2] Steinberg, L. and Dornbush, S.M., "Negative Correlates of Part-time Employment during Adolescence: Replication and Evaluation", *Developmental Psychology*, 1991 27(2): 304-13.

[3] *Ibid.*

58. *The Educational Status of Working Children*

Neera Burra

"Exploitation of Children in Jaipur Gem Industry II: Health Hazards of Gem Polishing", *Economic & Political Weekly*, January 23 1988, (135-6).

At least 50 per cent of all children working in the gem polishing industry [in India] are completely illiterate. Some of them have been educated up to the third standard and others dropped out even earlier. Since the education they had received was so meagre, whatever they learnt in the early years has been forgotten and today they are completely illiterate. Surprisingly, this is one industry where the need for education for upward mobility is seen as an absolute necessity by all those involved in the industry. *Dalals*, contractors, master craftsmen, workers and artisans felt strongly that education was an absolute must for all children. I met and had the opportunity of talking to several adults involved in the industry and everyone of them felt that education was a must for all children below the age of 15. Some cases are recounted below which indicated the depth of feeling about the role of education in the struggle for upward mobility.

Bade Mian is totally against the use of child labour. He only trains children above the age of 15 and had only one young boy working for him but he insists that children first go to school for part of the time at least up to the fifth standard. Rehman is a 12-year old boy who goes to the local school from 7 am to 12 noon. He gets home, has lunch and then goes to Bade Mian's to work till 5 pm. He was asked by Bade Mian to show me the units where children were working. I asked him whether children liked to go to school or to work. He whispered to me that children of his age hated to work all day because it was tiring and boring and their eyes hurt because they were glued to the gem. He did not mind learning from Bade Mian because he wanted to become a craftsman. He also did not go regularly. He took me to his father's unit. His father, Samirbhai, is a self-styled *ustad* contractor who told me that his *ustad* was also Bade Mian. In his unit, where there were seven children, the youngest — he proudly told me — was not quite 5 years of age. They were polishing cut gem stones. The workshop was absolutely dark and running exclusively on child labour. All the children were illiterate.

Bade Mjan believes that education develops the mind and the ability to grasp ideas increases. He said: "Let me give you an example. When I started working there were 50 others with me, but I was one of the few educated boys. After five years of training, I left and started my own business and many of my former colleagues came to work for me. They were uneducated and today still work merely as wage workers. There has been no change in their economic status. In my 30 years of experience, I can say one thing and that is: an illiterate child can never become an artisan."

In Zia-ud-din ki Gali I counted 70 children at work, all between the ages of six and 10. I talked at length to an *ustad* contractor who was running his whole unit using child labour. He told me that his own children, including two daughters, were at school.

Jalaluddin employs six children in a small room for polishing gems. He works along with them and also supervises the work. Three of the six children had had no education at all. One child had only been educated up to the first standard and the other up to the third standard. He said that more than 80 per cent of working children had no education at all. He blamed the shortsightedness of the parents for this state of affairs. He, of course, offers loans to the parents of these children and effectively binds them to him while his own children go to school.

Eighty-five per cent of working children between the ages of ten and fourteen in government schools were offsprings of fathers who were either in government service or employed as barbers, tailors, bakers, masons and a few even as casual labourers. In some homes, the mothers were employed in *bin-dai ka kaam* and in others, ultra-sonic drilling machines for piercing holes in beads had been installed; but these were not families of traditional craftsmen.

Of 35 children interviewed in a private school, more than 50 per cent came from families of gem artisans, though less than 10 per cent worked after school. *Ustads* normally do not allow their own children to work but employ other children to do the work.

Children who work full-time are obviously the most deprived. But those who go to school and work afterwards as well also have a very tough schedule. In the gem polishing industry, the child does not need to work at a young age because everyone recognises the need for education. Yet a large number of children do work. Part of the problem has to do, as 16 year-old Majal explained, with how parents feel: "If we have too much time on our hands, we are likely to get into bad company and start abusing our sisters and mothers." But studying and working places a tremendous strain on the child as interviews with school teachers revealed.

They said that the strain on children who studied and went to work was enormous but, in spite of everything, they did not falter in their home-work. One of the six teachers interviewed said that despite their best efforts, these children did not do well academically and then the parents would blame the government schools for the child's poor performance. This was one of the reasons why children dropped out without finishing their education: "How can a child study and work day in and day out for twelve hours without it having some adverse effects? After all, he is only a human being".

Another teacher said that sometimes the children did not find time and had to do their homework during the PT or games period. Working children were considered to be very conscientious but their ability to grasp was not as good as those children who did not have to work. They were of the opinion that working children were not as intelligent though out of six teachers present, one admitted that the problem was not that they were less intelligent but that the stresses and strains on working children usually exhausted them.

59. *Drop outs*

Chitra Naik

"India: Extending Primary Education through Non-formal Approaches", *Prospects*, XIII (1), 1983, UNESCO, (6).

In one year, that is, by December 1981, there were 439 cases of irregular or non-attendance in the 'A' batch. Of these 320 were girls. Migration accounted for the withdrawal of 45 girls and 43 boys. While 49 pupils (40 girls and 9 boys) left because their age exceeded 14 years, 95 (93 girls and 2 boys) left to get married. Fatigue due to excessive work during the day made 49 girls and 6 boys leave the classes. Indifference of parents was responsible in 42 cases (35 girls and 7 boys). There were 25 transfers to Grade 3 of formal schools (12 boys and 13 girls). Ten boys were in bonded labour and their masters withdrew them from the classes. A further detailed study of the socio-economic problems of non-attending pupils is contemplated. The distressing fact that marriage of girls around the age 12-14 is still widely prevalent in the rural areas was plainly revealed by this tentative study. It was found that the registration of marriages, though required by law, is hardly ever performed. In the circumstances, the constitutional directive of universal primary education for the 6 to 14 age-group is likely to remain a distant dream. The implications of early marriages for the country's birth-rate, maternal health, women's social status and participation in development, and the load of the dependent population on the economy are, to say the least, extremely disturbing.

60. *Views of Child Workers*

Arun Ghosh

Humanising Child Labour, A report on the IPER project on child labour, 1983-1985, Calcutta, IPER, (27-9).

A specially prepared questionnaire was applied on 450 child workers, the objective being to gather the views of the child workers themselves about their own work, their employers and the conditions of their work. Some of the questions put to them and the answers received are given below.

Q. Why did you leave your school?

The question was put to those child workers who joined the school like other children but left it midway and took to work. The reply was of varying nature. Quite expectedly more than 60% children attributed their suspension of study to the poverty of their parents. It is not, however, the expenses incurred for sending the child to the school that induce the parents to withdraw their children from the school but the potentiality of the children to help the family with some earning, however small it may be, acts as the major consideration. Though primary education is free in India, the expenses for the allied heads like the transport, tiffin, stationeries and dresses are still to be borne by the parents. Even if the child when employed does not bring any earning home he is at least given free food and lodging which is also a great relief to the economically handicapped parents. So the economic factor behind the children's non-attendance of the school cannot be removed by simply making education free and even extending the benefit to other ancillary components. A much more radical approach aimed at an overall uplift of the general economic condition of the parents is the only way out.

Three other types of replies were given by the rest of the child workers, viz. the lack of time (10%), the aversion to study (13%) and the closure of the school (13%). Those who help their parents in running their business and expect to step into the shoes of the parents when time comes pleaded that they were gradually getting more and more occupied with the work and had to give up the school. Another thirteen per cent of the child workers stated that they did not find any interest in education and got detained in the same class year after year and ultimately thought it more prudent to give up study and take up some work. The children's aversion to study has been diagnosed by the specialists as being caused by many factors, such as unsuitable curriculum, defective methodology, lack of help at home, and others.

Another factor leading to the child's aversion to study often overlooked is his inadequacy of learning ability. It has been found that a certain percentage of children are intellectually somewhat deficient and come under the category of the dullards or the slow learners. Setting aside those who are mentally retarded the percentage of which is quite low, the slow learners are largely the products of extraneous factors and can be made to learn like normal children with some special efforts on the part of the school authorities. But since such provisions are seldom available in our country, a certain percentage of children always find the school teaching not attractive and are forced to drop out. Our enquiry shows that the parents of these children are not always economically handicapped and they engage their children to some work because of the latter's failure to carry on with their study. These children can be very successfully helped to continue their study if the authorities make some special arrangements for them, as it is being done in the progressive countries like setting up ESN schools or opening remedial classes.

Another thirteen per cent of the child workers stated that they had to give up their study as the schools in their areas were closed down. Obviously, these children belong to the remote parts of the villages where systematic school system had not been introduced and they had to carry on their study in some temporary schooling arrangement which for some reason or other could not continue and the children had to give up their study midway. In spite of a massive educational drive initiated by the Government of India and those of the states as well there are still several areas in the interior parts of the villages where systematic schooling facility is still not available and the parents find no other way left but to get their children engaged in some kind of work instead of keeping them idle at home. These children can also be effectively helped and retrieved from their wasteful life of toil if the school facilities are made available to them.

Q. Are you sorry for leaving it?
Do you want to go to school again?
Are you angry with your parents for their sending you to work?

Over 95% of children admitted that they were sorry for leaving the school and wanted to go to school again. This is quite expected of every young and healthy mind and constitutes perhaps the strongest ground for making a concerted effort for abolishing child labour and making necessary provision for the education of these unfortunate children.

The five per cent children, however, were neither sorry for leaving the school, nor were they willing to go back to the school again. Obviously they belonged to the category of children who failed to develop any interest in education, any of the factors mentioned before being responsible for such an attitude.

When asked whether they were angry with their parents for their sending them to work, only twenty per cent replied in the affirmative. This only proves that the economic handicap of the parents, which forced them to discontinue their study, was so abiding and obvious that the children too fully appreciated the helplessness of their parents.

Q. Do you like the job?

Though most of the children replied that they liked the job, more than a quarter of the number expressed their dislike for it. The case of the latter group demands serious and immediate consideration. Already victims of various sufferings these children have to bear with a constant feeling of dissatisfaction in their work, which fact is sure to affect their mental health seriously.

Q. Do you feel tired while working?
Do you feel bored while working?

Seventy-five per cent children replied negatively. But the rest twenty-five per cent described their work as boring and tiresome. Our enquiry shows that the work-loads in the case of these child workers were quite heavy and the children had to strain themselves too much to cope with them. In most cases the working hours too were prolonged and the exacting employers made them work beyond the hours they were scheduled to work.

Q. Does any of your brothers and sisters also work like you?

Sixty-eight per cent of the child workers have some of their brothers or sisters also working like them. In another survey it has been found that the unwieldy size of the family is one of the major factors behind the widespread practice of child labour. In fact to these families afflicted by the twofold curse of poverty and large family the bartering of their children's labour for some economic relief is an easily available source of succour which they could rarely do without.

Q. Will you join any training class if arranged for you?

Most of the children enthusiastically expressed their willingness to join a training class if any such class is arranged for them.

EVIDENCE

Access to Education

Even if children do not work for an income there may be both cultural and economic reasons why they are unable to go to school. This section explores the situation of some of the major excluded groups: girls, children from indigenous and nomadic groups and street children.

61. *What Education Systems Teach Children*

Everett Reimer

School is Dead: An Essay on Alternatives in Education. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971 (15).

Most of the children in the world are not in school. Most of those who enter drop out after a very few years. Most of those who succeed in school still become dropouts at a higher level. UNESCO data show that only in a small minority of nations do even half the children complete the first six grades. No child, however, fails to learn from school. Those who never get in learn that the good things of life are not for them. Those who drop out early learn that they do not deserve the good things of life. The later dropouts learn that the system can be beat, but not by them. All of them learn that school is the path to secular salvation, and resolve that their children shall climb higher on the ladder than they did.

62. *Educating All the Children*

Christopher Colclough with K.M. Lewin

Educating All the Children: Strategies for Primary Schooling in the South. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993 (2-4).

Given the apparently strong social benefits which accrue from primary schooling, why, then, have developing countries been so tardy in ensuring its universal provision? After all, their announced intention, as indicated by the declarations of a series of regional conferences organized during the early 1960s by UNESCO, was to achieve universal primary education (UPE) by 1980, at the latest. In the event, there were many reasons for failure. School systems did expand rapidly. But in most countries, population growth continued at much higher rates than had been imagined in the 1960s, thereby making the quantitative task more difficult than had been forecast. Educational costs also rose more sharply, owing to the links between salaries and teacher qualifications, and to the budgetary burden imposed by the rapid expansion of higher education. After 1980, the pace of enrolment growth slumped, as recession hit educational expenditures by the State. This was particularly so in Africa, where real educational spending, per head of population, fell by two-thirds during 1980-7, and where, in consequence, both gross and net primary-enrolment ratios fell below their 1980 levels.

Equally, the targets were badly specified: many of the 130 million out-of-school children live in countries where UPE, defined as the 'circumstance of having a primary gross enrolment ratio (GER) of 100 or more', has already been achieved.[1]

Colombia and Lesotho represent extremes, where primary GERs are around 115, yet where only about 70 per cent of children in the official school-age group actually attend school. There are many other countries with school systems which are only slightly more efficient, and where a 20-point difference between gross and net enrolment ratios — the result (mainly) of high rates of repetition — remains common. Schooling for all (SFA) is a better target. This we define as 'the circumstance of having a school system in which all eligible children are enrolled in schools of at least minimally acceptable quality'.

On these definitions, UPE becomes a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the achievement of SFA. The latter is more difficult, and more expensive to achieve, than the former. But only when SFA is attained can one truly say that primary schooling has been universalized.

The fact that one-quarter of children remain out of primary school is not only the result of action, or inaction, by governments. It is also caused by the demand for schooling amongst some private households remaining low. This, at first sight, seems puzzling, given the high private returns to primary schooling mentioned above, together with the additional 'external' benefits, some of which — such as better health and nutrition — are privately captured.

The most important cause of low demand is poverty. Even where returns are high, the direct and indirect costs of school attendance are often too great for poor families to afford. During the 1980s, household incomes in many parts of the world fell — often in countries where the costs of attending school rose, as governments introduced or raised school fees and other charges. The result has often been a fall in demand for primary schooling — particularly so in Africa — and declining enrolments.

In addition, the non-monetary benefits of schooling are often not known by families, and even if they were, assessment of their value, for comparison with private costs, would hardly be an easy task. Furthermore, not all population groups within countries face similar private benefits from schooling: minority castes or tribes, isolated populations or those in poor regions, and women, often have reason to expect lower monetary returns to schooling than the average. Finally, there are a range of powerful economic and customary reasons for parents favouring the education of sons over that of daughters in many countries. This helps to explain why almost two-thirds of the children who are not enrolled in primary schools are girls.

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[1] The gross enrolment ratio is defined as the number of children who are enrolled in primary school expressed as a proportion of the number of children in the age-group who are eligible to attend.

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63. *Primary Education: The Excluded*

Suren Gajraj and Klaus Schoemann

Primary Education: The Excluded. UNESCO, Section of Statistics on Education, Division of Statistics, Paris, UNESCO, 1991.

Table 1 provides data for 1988 for the countries included in each regional group on:

i) Total primary enrolment and that part of the enrolment corresponding to the population of primary school-age.
ii) The primary school-age population not enrolled (Derived from the medium variant of the 1988 Revision of the Population Estimates and Projections of the United Nations Population Division).

From Table 1 the following conclusions may be derived:

- The incidence of children outside the official age range of primary education enrolled is significant in all regions and these children account in 1988 for between 13% of first level enrolment in the Arab States (3 million pupils), 23% for Latin America and the Caribbean and Eastern Asia and Oceania (11 million and 5 million respectively), 25% for the Least Developed Countries (10 million), 28% for Southern Asia (32 million) and 30% for Sub-Saharan Africa (17 million).
- Two principal factors influence the proportion of overaged children, namely late entrance to primary school and repetition.
- The importance of the number of children of primary school-age who in 1988 did not attend primary school varies from 4 million in Eastern Asia and Oceania to 52 million in Southern Asia. Table 1 contrasts the number of children of primary school-age who in 1988 were enrolled and those out-of-school by region.
- By sub-region between 18%-52% of the children of primary school-age were not enrolled in 1988.

Thus although significant strides were made in the drive to provide universal primary education in 1988, 107 million children of primary school-age were not enrolled and 90 million of these children live in Southern Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Table 2 presents by country, classified by region, the proportion of children of primary school-age not enrolled and enrolled as well as the corresponding absolute numbers. From Table 2 it can be seen that:

i) the greatest efforts need to be made in Sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia;
ii) for Sub-Saharan Africa in 18 of the 37 countries, 50% or more of the children of primary school-age in 1988 were out-of-school and this percentage is almost 90% for Somalia;
iii) for Latin America and the Caribbean there are 2 countries, Guatemala and Haiti where respectively 45% and 56% of the children of primary school-age do not attend school;
iv) For all countries in Eastern Asia and Oceania the proportion of the primary school-age population not enrolled is in the range 12% to 38%.

Table 1 - Primary education: enrolled and out-of-school children in developing countries, 1988

Major Developing Regions	Enrolment (millions)		Primary school-age children not enrolled	
	Total	Of official primary school age	Number (millions)	As % of primary school age pop.
Sub-Saharan Africa	56	39	38	49
Latin America and the Caribbean	48	37	8	18
Eastern Asia and Oceania	22	17	4	19
Southern Asia	115	83	52	39
Arab States	23	20	9	30
Least Developed Countries	41	31	34	52

Table 2 - Percentage of out-of-school children or primary school age: frequency distribution

Major Developing Regions	<10	10 to 19	20 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	>50	Number of countries
Sub-Saharan Africa	2	1	5	4	7	18	37
Latin America and the Caribbean	4	8	4	-	1	1	18
Eastern Asia and Oceania	-	2	-	3	-	-	5
Southern Asia	-	-	-	3	-	3	6
Arab States	3	3	2	-	3	4	14

64. *Why Women's Education Levels Are So Low*

Elizabeth M. King

Educating Girls and Women: Investing in Development. Washington D.C., World Bank, 1990 (10-3).

A seven-year-old girl in Malaysia works twice as many hours in the home or market place as a boy of that age, giving her less time for school. A primary school girl in Pakistan who needs to use a latrine must go home. Parents in Mali fear that an urban secondary school will endanger their daughter's virginity by encouraging sexuality. And leading technology training schools in the Dominican Republic are off limits for women. Barriers and discouragements like these keep millions of girls and women out of school, leaving a major development asset untapped.

The supply of schools has expanded greatly in the past 25 years, leading to and accommodating the increase in Third World primary school enrolment over that period. Moreover, there are few admissions restrictions against girls at the primary school level. To understand why, despite this expansion, a larger proportion of school-age girls than boys do not enter school or drop out early in many developing countries, one needs to consider the tangled web of concerns that affect the education of girls and boys differently. These include both the costs and the benefits of educating children. Underinvestment in girls' education occurs because the private returns to the families are not large enough to offset the costs, and because parents do not consider the external benefits that education generates when making their private cost/benefit calculations. In some societies, parents tend to favor sons, but this unequal treatment in educating sons and daughters may not be due simply to favoritism. It may be the most efficient response by parents to the constraints of family resources, technology and labor market conditions, and to a society that rewards and restricts sexes differently.

A lesson from past experience is that simply expanding access by building more schools, relaxing admission policies or instituting quotas for female students may lead to higher levels of female enrolment at the margin, but these strategies are not enough where the family's demand for girls' education is low. In Egypt, for example, 400 primary schools were built between 1981 and 1987. The share of girls enrolled rose from 56 per cent to 74 per cent, but more than a quarter of the girls were still out of school. Boys' enrolment increased from 94 per cent to 100 per cent. The lesson is that for schools to be fully utilized, the demand for education has to come from families. To be effective, expansion policies must be accompanied by policies that lower costs and raise benefits for families.

Benefits of Education

Parents think of educating children as investing in human capital for the family's and children's future benefit. Distortions in the labor market due to discriminatory employment practices against women reduce the earnings benefits that women can expect to gain from education. Examples are restrictions against the hiring of married women in wage-paying jobs in the manufacturing or service sectors. Entry barriers against women, explicit or implicit, in certain occupations serve as obstacles to education. Some of these barriers begin at the primary school level with teachers and textbooks projecting attitudes that discourage school attendance and performance of girls, or promoting stereotypes of girls not being as good as boys in technical subjects or mathematics. Some of the obstacles begin at the post-primary education level with gender-specific admissions policies in certain areas of study. In the Dominican Republic, three of the most important schools for middle-level technology training bar women even though they are financed by the national government. In Pakistan, women are not allowed to enroll in 72 per cent of all secondary vocational institutions because of strict sex segregation. In other cases, a limited supply of school places for girls may increase the relative cost of their schooling.

Women's income benefits in the labor market also are diminished by the high fertility of mothers. Pregnancy, childbirth and childcare duties remove mothers from the work force for substantial periods, or permanently, denying them paid work. Moreover, the labor supply pattern feeds back into employers' wage-setting decisions, causing them to place a lower value on women workers than men.

Also, in some societies, custom dictates that sons take responsibility for their parents, while girls marry out of their own families at an early age and into their husband's families. The earlier the marriage age, the less parents enjoy the benefits of their daughters' education. In Bangladesh, 75 per cent of females living in rural areas who have ever been married were married by the age of 17. In India, 75 per cent of this group were married by age 19, in Pakistan by age 22. Some evidence suggests that then girls do not marry so early but spend some time working in the labor force, parents are more willing to educate their daughters. In Hong Kong, women who tend to marry at later ages and help their parents in the interim appear to reach higher education levels than others. In parts of southern India, due to an increased value of more educated women, some grooms' parents are willing to accept prepayment of dowries in the form of higher schooling of prospective daughters-in-law.

Parents also may have poor knowledge of the benefits of education to the family's current health and welfare and to the health and prosperity of their grandchildren. They may not be aware that the benefits of education are inter-generational, and in fact accumulate over time. Or families may not appreciate the benefits of education in countries where the "suitableness" of more highly educated women to be good wives is held in doubt. Anthropological and sociological studies have shown that in traditional Muslim countries, education beyond puberty is contrary to the social pressure for women to become wives and mothers. Highly educated women's possibilities for marriage become limited. Parents find it hard to understand the benefits of education when curricula are irrelevant to this mother-wife role or contradict the values they want to teach their children. These cultural considerations vary widely among and within countries, but need to be taken into account in designing education policies and delivery strategies. A balance must be struck between providing courses that help women fulfill traditional roles, and at the same time not allowing curricula to lock women out of wider educational opportunities. Education itself, along with economic change, can and should be a powerful force in modifying traditional viewpoints on girls' schooling.

Costs of Education

But even if they are aware of the potential long-range benefits of education, parents may be unable to afford the tuition, materials, transportation, boarding fees and other costs of sending girls to school. Location, distance and even clothing requirements can make the effective cost of school attendance higher for girls than boys. Gender differences enter in when, for instance, parents are more reluctant to send girls to school without proper clothing. Or parents' concern for the physical and moral safety of young daughters in some cultures deters them from allowing girls to attend distant schools requiring long travel daily or residence away from home. In countries where religion requires seclusion of women, parents allow girls to attend only single-sex schools with female teachers, or withdraw girls at the onset of puberty.

The availability of schools with female teachers, thus, can also determine the effective supply of schools. In low-income countries, only one-third of primary, less than one-fourth of secondary, and just over one-tenth of tertiary education teachers are women. The shortage largely reflects the limited pool of potential teachers, a result of low schooling levels of women, and the reluctance of those trained to work in rural areas. This is because cultural attitudes discourage young, single women from moving far from home and living alone while undergoing teacher training. The short supply of safe dormitories for women exacerbates the situation. Also, women from rural areas usually do not qualify to enroll in teacher training schools in the cities, and programs in rural areas to identify, recruit and train girls to become teachers are few.

Finally, parents may not be able to afford the opportunity costs of educating children, which vary by sex and from country to country. Although in some countries boys perform a larger share of family labor such as livestock herding, with few exceptions girls do more home and market place work than boys. In Nepal and Java, most young girls spend at least a third more hours per day working at home and market than boys of the same age, and in some age groups as much as 85 per cent more hours. In Malaysian households, girls aged 5-6 who do home or market chores work as much as three-fourths more hours per week than boys of that age. In Chinese and Indian households in Malaysia, girls aged 7-9 work as much as 120-150 per cent more hours than boys. Clearly, girls who work more than their brothers will be less likely to attend school, or they will be more overworked if they do (causing them to perform less well). In addition to lost work, parents in many countries feel that girls are foregoing important childcare, household and craft training at home if they go to school. In marking education decisions, parents weigh these relative opportunity costs against expected returns.

65. *Report from the Frontier*

Julian Burger

Report from the Frontier. London: Zed Books Ltd., 1987 (25-7).

The level of formal education of indigenous peoples is low. Compared to the majority, proportionately fewer indigenous people attend university, complete compulsory education or possess basic reading and writing skills. In the capitalist and underdeveloped countries alike this has been used by employers to justify paying low wages and discriminating against applicants for jobs and by governments to justify excluding indigenous minorities from public service. If it is noteworthy that these peoples are concentrated in those occupations paying the lowest wages and offering the least opportunities, then the low level of educational attainment must be recognized as a major obstacle to any improvement in conditions.

In the United States the average educational level of all Indians under federal supervision is five school years. Of the 40,000 Navajo Indians, one-third are estimated to be functionally illiterate in English. The drop-out rate of Indian children is twice the national average. In Canada a similar drop-out rate exists among Indians and as few as three per cent actually finish secondary school. In Australia the federal government has stated that 'until recently few Aboriginals have progressed through secondary school or entered tertiary education. Only a handful have qualified for open scholarships or bursaries.'[1]

In Latin America where levels of basic education are in any case lower than in the developed countries, illiteracy among Indians is high. In Guatemala, where three-quarters of the population is Indian, a UNESCO spokesman noted in 1978 that per capita investment in education was the lowest in the world; illiteracy among the rural Indian population is estimated at 82 per cent. Generally speaking, among Andean Indians such high illiteracy rates are common. Few children have the opportunity of attending more than the first year or two of primary school and that often intermittently. The presence of Indians at university is rare. For the more isolated Indian communities schooling is almost entirely absent. In the Brazilian Amazon or the Paraguayan Chaco there are virtually no government-run educational projects.

In Asia similar conditions prevail. In Indonesia primary schooling in isolated, tribal areas is sparse. In India the literacy rate of scheduled tribes is 11 per cent, compared with 30 per cent for the total population. In the Philippines, tribal regions like the Cordillera are provided with fewer teachers per head of population than elsewhere. In Malaysia, the tribal peoples (*orang asli*) receive little formal schooling.

Low educational attainment is due in part to environmental conditions. For isolated indigenous groups, schools of any kind are often inaccessible. Many nomadic peoples could not in any case be served by the normal educational system and the static schoolroom is inappropriate to their way of life. Alternatives such as residential schools are rarely acceptable to indigenous peoples.

Basic education in most indigenous contexts is hampered by an absence of any *lingua franca*. In Brazil some 120 different languages are spoken by the Amazonian Indian peoples; in Guatemala there are 23 different languages spoken by the Indians; in India there are more than 400 tribal communities with distinctive languages; in the Philippines there are eight national minorities of half a million or more people speaking different languages. Any compulsory universal education in such countries must gain acceptance of the dominant language — Spanish, Portuguese, English or Filipino. In the meantime governments have been reluctant to make any concessions about the language problem. Teachers are non-indigenous, often have no knowledge of the indigenous language and are obliged by law to teach in the dominant language. Thus, in Bangladesh the medium of instruction is Bengali although some half a million tribal people speak other languages; in Malaysia the tribal people (*orang asli*) are taught in Malay; in Chile the Mapuche Indians are taught in Spanish; in Paraguay the Guarani-speaking Indians are offered rote-learning of entire Spanish sentences which they do not understand. There are few countries in the world which accept an Indian language as an official medium of education and communication.

Such formal education where it is available is often antagonistic to the traditions of indigenous peoples. It does not impart indigenous culture and few efforts are made to adapt it to the needs of indigenous communities. More often than not teachers come into the indigenous community with preconceptions; they view their own culture as superior. Such attitudes are communicated to the children who become demoralized and alienated from their own culture. In such situations children can become virtual outcasts: not fully acceptable to the dominant society and no longer fully able to play a part in their now derogated Indian culture.

In one important respect indigenous cultures differ from those dominant cultures alongside them. Indigenous cultures have an oral tradition and the European cultures with their various oral roots — Greek rhetoric or Viking sagas for example — have long since given way to a primarily written culture. There is an assumption by dominant societies that indigenous people are culturally inferior because they do not give the written form the same importance as the spoken word. They may learn to read and write but not necessarily give pre-eminence to writing.

> ... I detest writing. The process itself epitomizes the European concept of 'legitimate' thinking; what is written has an importance that is denied the spoken. My culture, the Lakota culture, has an oral tradition and so I ordinarily reject writing. It is one of the white world's ways of destroying the cultures of the non-white European peoples, the imposing of an abstraction over the spoken relationship of a people.[2]

More often than not education is seen as a means of gaining control of indigenous peoples and subverting their culture. Missionaries, teachers and governments have recognized that the way to 'civilize' their indigenous communities was to take a hold of the children before their parents could teach them the tribal way of life. By so doing they hoped to 'breed out' and finally eliminate indigenous culture. Throughout the colonizing process Spanish missionaries or English zealots have been so convinced of their own rectitude and the worthlessness of indigenous ways of life, that almost any method was permitted. History is strewn with the victims of these single-minded, evangelizing educationists.

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[1] United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, "Study of the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations", report submitted by the special rapporteur, José Martinez Cobo, 1983, Chapter XIII p. 27.

[2] Russell Means, "Indictment on Industrial Society", statement to the International NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Land, Geneva, 15-18 September 1981.

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66. *Education for Nomads in Africa*

L.A. Armstrong

"Education for Nomads in Africa", in UNICEF/UNESCO Cooperative Programme for Nomads, *Report of a Seminar held in Mogadishu, Somalia, 1-9 April, 1978.* Nairobi: UNICEF (181-184).

The term "nomads" is derived from the Greek "nomas", referring to those who roam for pasture. However, in modern usage, the term nomad is applied to all wandering peoples, and peoples who lead a migratory life with no fixed abode. In Africa there are two main types of nomads: (a) the "hunter/gatherer" nomad and (b) the pastoral nomad.

The hunter/gatherer nomad forages in bands for whatever nature provides. The Bushmen of South Africa serve as an example of this group. A bushman band is comprised of between 25 and 60 persons. During the rainy season, members camp together but disperse during the dry weather as single family groups. Their shelters are flimsy structures made of twigs and grass and their worldly possessions are few and portable. Their major source of food is game, wild vegetables, fruits and nuts.

The pastoral nomad depends on domesticated livestock and is forced to migrate to find pasture for his animals. The pattern of migration is largely dependent on climactic and ecological patterns. For example, in parts of southern Somalia, people live in fixed villages but send their animals out with the men twice a year to plateau grasslands in the rainy season, and to river banks at the height of the dry season. A similar pattern exists in northern Kenya amongst the Rendille, where all except the young warriors have settled in villages surrounding medical posts, water holes and other government or missionary provided amenities. During the dry spells "morans" seek pasture for their herds within a hundred-mile radius of the villages.

Camel-rearing nomads tend to occupy the more arid regions and thus roam over a wider territory in search of food and water for their animals.

Nomads can by no means be viewed as a homogenous group. They comprise not only the pastoralists who occupy the arid and semi-arid areas of the continent, but also foragers who are found in the woodland areas. The latter group is largely forgotten when nomadic groups are being discussed.

While the common denominator of nomadic peoples is migration, even the patterns of migration vary. Some groups are semi-nomadic with a seasonal pattern of migration, while in other groups, elders, women and children may be sedentary while the young men are nomadic.

Besides ecological and climate dictates, deep-seated cultural patterns influence their economies.

Traditionally, the Maasai of East Africa did not till the land. It is only after much persuasion coupled with several years of severe drought and subsequent loss of cattle that the Turkana have begun a modest fishing industry around Lake Turkana.

In spite of various diversifications, common problems such as poor health, mainly due to the lack of a balanced diet, unhygienic living conditions, contaminated and uncertain water supplies, illiteracy, ecological problems due to overgrazing in the semi-arid and arid regions, and a limited control of the physical environment distinguish nomads as being amongst the most disadvantaged groups on the continent.

However, it is not to be thought that nomads consider themselves underprivileged. Many nomadic groups consider their way of life with all its hardships and privations as being superior to that of sedentary groups. This cultural pride has been cited as a major obstacle in promoting change.

Obstacles to the Provision of Education

Dawson, in discussing education in Somalia,[1] a country where over 60 per cent of the population lead a nomadic life, explained that a project aimed at educating the nomads had to be phased out after two years. He cited several reasons for the failure: (1) Because they were so widely dispersed there were problems of reaching and influencing them significantly; (2) Their independence and reluctance to change their traditional ways posed another major obstacle; (3) Manual labour was scorned and parents were unwilling to relieve children of the responsibilities of tending the flocks. There was also difficulty in obtaining teachers who would return to work with nomads once they had completed training.

Similar difficulties have been noted where attempts have been made to educate the Maasai in Kenya. In 1921 when the first school was started in Maasailand, "only the most useless mentally and physically" were sent. Lavers also states that boys abruptly ended school to undergo initiation.[2]

How then are these difficulties surmounted? Through what processes do adults modify patterns of traditional values and thinking with which they currently justify their existence and alter these for patterns of behavior which are more suited to contemporary lifestyles which are personally satisfying and in keeping with national objectives for development?

Facing the Challenge: Recommendations

Getting to know the target groups

Perhaps one of the biggest pitfalls in planning programme activities is the limited knowledge available on the culture of the nomads. It is desirable that the few educated nomads should serve as intermediates in obtaining information on their needs, perceptions of self and environment, aspirations, motivation, socio-political structures, the indigenous learning processes and local resources available for utilization in the programme. Equally important should be the recording and appreciation of the wisdom of the nomads which has enabled them to survive in a harsh environment.

Understanding the regions

Besides a thorough knowledge of the target groups, it is also necessary to gain an understanding of the ecology of the areas they inhabit, as well as of the unused surrounding land, the land capabilities, the possibilities for industry, climatic changes and other environmental conditions which would influence the development of the region.

Education for whom

Traditionally education has been conceived of as being for the young. However this belief is fast losing ground and the concept of lifelong learning is gaining a foothold. Particularly in the case of the nomads who have had little exposure to the various types of education available, it is important to attempt to reach all segments of the population.

Adults first of all need to be persuaded that the education provided to themselves and their children would mean an improvement in their living conditions and would give them greater control over their lives and their environment. Work skills, homemaking skills, health education, etc., may serve to highlight the benefits of education.

Youth and children require the knowledge necessary to cope with the challenge of their environment utilizing the best methods and skills available.

In nations comprising diverse peoples and environments, it is necessary to diversify the educational content to suit the needs of the people and their environments. As indicated above, the identification of needs should be based on a thorough knowledge of the people, their regions, their perceptions of their needs and aspirations as well as the perceptions of the social planners. While one can outline broad educational needs such as the academic, vocational, health, social, civic and environmental, the details of the programme can only be determined on a regional basis.

Extreme care should be given to the formulation of programmes that motivate the learner. A programme that is problem-centred and relevant to the individual and community needs is likely to gain a more favourable response than a subject-centred, academic approach.

Reaching the nomads

One of the most thorny issues confronting the educational planner is the question of what channels should be used to communicate with the nomads. Should permanent structures be erected for educational purposes? Would mobile units be more effective. Would radio or study groups prove worthwhile? It is necessary to experiment and evaluate these methods in pilot projects before determining which is most suitable for a particular group.

The initial recruitment to participate in a particular programme would be very much aided by soliciting the help of elders who have been convinced of the benefits which would accrue.

Lele's concise description of the qualities necessary for trainers in rural areas is most apt in this context. She states they will be effective if:

a) the trainers are technically competent;
b) they possess an ability to translate their knowledge in the context of the specific constraints and potential which face their target populations (and therefore by implication possess knowledge of the environment in which the target population lives); and
c) they are able to communicate their knowledge effectively to the rural people.[3]

FOR STREET CHILDREN

67. *A School for Income-earning People*

Basilica Espinola, Benno Glauser, Rosa Maria Ortiz and Susana Ortiz de Carfizosa

In the Streets: Working Street Children in Asuncion. Bogotá: UNICEF, 1988 (94-6), (translation by Susanna Cahill, revised by Glauser and Zarate).

In order for a child to receive the "compulsory and free" primary education, he or she must have:

- money to pay the matriculation fee
- money to purchase the uniform or apron
- money for school supplies
- money for daily transportation in cases where the school is distant from the home
- money to pay for the periodical support the teacher requests for the "class funds" (The teacher may earn less than some of her child students who work in the streets.)
- several times the above mentioned sums in the (normal) case that the family has several children attending school.

Whether the working street child's family has the income required for paying the aforementioned expenses depends precisely on the child and his or her work. The child must work every day, for several hours a day in order to attend school. When there is less work and the income drops, the child must work longer hours so that the family receives the necessary basic income, which among other expenses, enables it to pay the children's school expenses. The time the child devotes to working apart from the time ordinarily allocated to play, amusement, spending time with the family, is also the time for getting the necessary rest to be able to achieve an adequate academic performance and for doing his homework. If the income is still not sufficient, and the child must work longer hours, he does it during the time he should normally be in school. Many street children do not attend school when they have not finished selling what they had to sell for the day, or when they have not earned enough money. When this occurs frequently, they stop going to school altogether, at least for that academic year.

Normally, street children who work half a day have a chance of attending school. The 21% that work 9 hours a day or more, have few or no possibilities whatsoever of attending school.

School and poverty often constitute opposite extremes in many senses: increasing poverty annuls school education. The need to eat is greater than the need to attend compulsory schooling, even more so when this schooling, in reality, is not free of charge.

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[1] Dawson, G.D., "Education in Somalia", *Comparative Education Review*, 8, 1964, p. 201.

[2] Lavers, A., "Schooling in Massai-land", *Kenya Education Journal*, I, 1960.

[3] Lele, U., *The Design of Rural Development*. Washington, D.C.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975, p. 170.

68. *School Exclusion*

Christopher Williams

"Who are 'Street children'? A Hierarchy of Street Use and Appropriate Responses", *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 17, 1993, (836-8).

Terms such as "school drop-outs," "truants," and "absentees" pervade the education literature. These labels depict children as the cause of the situation. It seems preferable to talk of "school exclusion," which more accurately takes the blame away from those who are the victims of circumstances beyond their control. "Pull" and "push" factors have been common determinants of school exclusion, even when provision is readily available.

There has been little doubt concerning the "pull" influences that are known to prevent parents from sending their children to school. In 1857, Bunce blamed "two evils — the poverty of a large class of people, and the absolute necessity which has been created for the employment of children".[1] In a current ILO (International Labour Organisation) report, the provision of totally free schooling is not seen as an automatic solution to nonattendance, "because one of the major indirect costs associated with schooling is the loss of the child's earning".[2] The attraction of work is not restricted to European history and the Third World. It was reported that in a district of Washington, children as young as 8 or 9 are dropping out of school because they can earn up to $200 a day as couriers or lookouts for drugs dealers.[3]

Recommendations from the ILO in 1951 apply equally to the present day:

1. Provision of free or low-cost school meals as a means of contributing not only to the health of the children but also to their maintenance and consequently the prevention of child labor.
2. Provision of free clothing to the children who otherwise would be prevented from attending school because their parents are unable to provide clothing.
3. Provision of free textbooks and other material for children whose parents are unable to buy such material.

The poverty problem is regularly re-examined. Fundamental cures remain elusive, yet remedies seem obvious and uncomplicated. It is implementation, not explanation, that generally constitutes the impasse.

"Push" factors stemming from internal school dynamics are important because they appear, at least superficially, more amenable to change. Individual teachers cannot alter the social inequalities that cause pupils to be poorly dressed, for example, but they can control whether they punish children for their appearance.

The humiliation of failing a year is often a cause of street life.[4] Mixed ability teaching or aptitude grouping seem greatly preferable to structures whereby "failures" end up in attainment streams with much younger children. Demeaning teacher attitudes and punishment are frequently cited by children as reasons for school avoidance. In 1985 the Zimbabwe Herald reported of a 7-year-old boy who died after he was beaten by his mathematics teacher for giving an incorrect answer.[5] Exile on the streets can often be viewed as intelligent, evasive action.

"Voluntary" donations to school funds and expensive uniforms similarly exclude poorer pupils. The South African government has little doubt as to cause and effect: In 1989, fees and uniforms were deliberately reintroduced to deter the attendance of a backlog of students. In Mali, children are sometimes expelled if they do not provide their own bench-desk, which they have to carry to and from school each day. In schools operating two shifts, this means there are twice as many bench-desks in existence as are required for the school to function according to the rules, yet many children end up on the streets because they cannot provide one. The system has far more to do with casting the blame for the inadequate provision away from governments and local administrators and onto poor parents, than with effective education.

Of equal import, is the simple fact that the schools are seen as a waste of time. In India it was concluded that: "Due to poor quality teachers, lack of books ... the school atmosphere was not very conducive to ... continuance in schools ... these children took to gambling and roaming about ... to pick-pocketing ...".[6] For academics to express these views is considered creditable; from a parent it might be seen as interfering. The child who holds the same opinion and acts upon it is labelled deviant.

Reasons why those on the streets are not accommodated by existing school structures, given by those who work with NGO (non-governmental organizations) projects for street children, appear trivial but are far from unimportant to the pupils concerned:[7]

> They didn't fit into the school system and the school system didn't fit into their life ... they had enough to bear without going through daily humiliations, and they disliked being told they were dirty and sons of prostitutes.[8]
>
> Formal schools need clean uniforms, punctuality, doing of homework. If there has been a fight in the house at night, or no food cooked the child will come to school late, so he is punished. A few times of this and he opts out ... No place at home results in no homework done, or books are dirty. Both result in punishment.[9]
>
> ... the school's rigid requirement on the child's good moral character.[10]
>
> ... a set pattern of study — parrot wise. Street children are street clever. They don't fit into

> normal school because they can't wait — or they have been used to earning and want money ... They believe in the 3 Fs: Food, Freedom and Films. None of our school system fit these kids.[11]

South Africa furnishes a recent example of the results of a large-scale alienation from schooling. In 1986, The New Nation reported 3,000 and 5,000 "educational refugees" between the ages of 13 and 18, seeking uninterrupted education. Many "roamed the streets for days with their belongings trying to find placement in schools." Three years later, an educator talking of the continued disruption in Soweto's schools declared, "We have to deal with the reality of 2,000-odd kids roaming the streets now ... Patch-up work cannot be accepted in principle".[12] Ken Hartsthorne indicates how disaffected older youths bring their anger into the lives of those already estranged: "Rejected by the education system, they have become the leaders of the street children".[13] The ultimate consequences were concluded in the press in 1989:

> ... the recent spate of hijacking of cars, abduction of girls and general signs of gangsterism (are) an after-effect of the large number of pupils who dropped out during the 1985/86 school crisis ..." "Today's protesters, angry at their exclusion, express their resentment by attacking school property and ... the pupils and even teachers and principals.[14]

NGOs have also not been free from excluding practices. The comments of a nun regarding a South African project hardly reflect unconditional acceptance:

> We took [accommodated] only those who were attending our educational program classes — we felt we owed them something because they were on the road to accepting a structured environment. We didn't want to mix children who weren't interested with the children who were because it would lead to conflict.[15]

At the Bosconia-La Florida program, in Bogotá, compliance is the passport to higher stages. Those wishing to enter the dormitory must have given up drugs and will be challenged: "I don't believe you really want to enter the program! You don't do you?" The boy must reply: "Yes I do, I mean it!" The criteria for proceeding to the next level entails that 10% drop-out; entrants must declare: "I want to change and make progress, because I renounce sin".[16]

Viewing school exclusion in relation to a street hierarchy proposes an interesting correlation. In terms of children generally using the streets, figures suggest a surprisingly high attendance rate:

- Asuncion — 82% of school age "working street children" go to school[17]
- Johannesburg — 95% of street children, now in NGO shelters, have been to school at some time[18]
- Lima — "between 80 and 90% of working children ... attend school, even if only intermittently"[19]

However, in Bombay, using the criteria "roofless and rootless," only 26% have known school life.[20] The comparison is crude, but it would suggest a tangible relationship between total school exclusion and total reliance on the street. Local ethnographic studies might be able to support the notion that a brief, but effective period of schooling could obviate the more serious consequences of street existence, although methodology would need to account for the fact that exclusion may not create street children. The two may be parallel symptoms of an overall condition.

Degenerative Estrangement

Terms such as "alienated," "estranged," and "marginalized" are frequent throughout the literature. Judith Ennew talks more specifically of the "extra-social status which defines the vagrant".[21] Such concepts are not new. Earlier this century the psychologist Alfred Adler was considering "demoralized youth:" "They play the role of people whose feeling for society is defective, who have not discovered the point of contact with their fellow men ...".[22] Isolation is recognized by phrases such as "voicelessness" or Freire's "culture of silence",[23] but these can infer the absence of a message rather than a communication barrier. More appropriately, Jill Swart uses the anthropological term "muted groups" to describe the Johannesburg Malunde.[24]

Although useful, these concepts are restricted in that they infer a static condition. Mary Carpenter's phrase the "perishing classes," used about Victorian street children, more aptly depicts a degenerative process for those at the lower end of the scale. Downward spirals are commonly recognized: "The boys run away from the schools and become habitual truants to find a gang leader waiting from them at the dark alley or street corner for initiating them in smoking, gambling, junking, and thieving. One or the other of these activities becomes central and creates secondary antisocial habits and behaviour patterns, and thus the boys easily slip down to a hardened and complex criminal career".[25]

The seemingly finite state of total street existence is neatly concluded by Nick Hardwick of the Centrepoint project for London runaways, "It's impossible to get the street culture genie back into the bottle" (personal communication). For those who are excluded from school, the very existence of a state education system, compounds their estrangement.

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Part 4. CASE STUDIES

This final part of the book presents a number of experiences at project and programme level, not as models but to show the ways in which basic education for working children has been approached in several parts of the world. These have been chosen because they illustrate the themes already touched on in previous readings: the importance of being child- rather than school-centred; the need to take children's working activities into account in all aspects of their education; and the importance of the involvement of children, their families and communities in the education process.

CASE STUDIES

General Principles

Every situation is unique and all projects must adapt their methods to local perspectives and conditions. Nevertheless, the wealth of project experience that has built up over the past two decades has revealed some general principles that almost provide check lists for project planning. In this section, some of the most experienced planners in the field share some aspects of their overviews of the essential factors to take into account when planning projects for working children. One vital approach these writers have in common is to plan for children in the context of their families, communities and the wider society. If projects simply target particular groups of children for service provision they have a short-term effect and cannot produce long-term developmental and preventive results.

69. *Education and Training*

Asefa Bequele

"Emerging Perspectives in the Struggle against Child Labour", in Myers, W. (ed.), *Protecting Working Children.* London and New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., in association with UNICEF, 1991 (81-3).

The most common recurrent element in most programmes is the inclusion, and in many cases the primacy, of education and training as a component in the projects on working children. That there are very few projects or programmes which do not to some degree provide education and training attests to the primary value attributed to education and the imperativeness of meeting this basic need.

These projects focus on four major groups of children: 1) working children with no schooling, 2) working children who have some schooling but have dropped out of school, 3) potential school drop-outs, and 4) new school enrollees. Some projects are aimed at providing non-formal education for those who have had no schooling, and facilitating access to improved education and training for those who have already had some education. Others are targeted at groups 3) and 4) above. These have a preventive objective and are aimed at keeping children at school and combating the pressure to drop out by providing material and psychological support. Many children leave school because of the inability to afford stationery and other supplies, uniforms, transportation and other necessities, even when tuition may be free. Thus, some of the programmes provide the required material and financial assistance. Other projects provide training in skills to enable child workers in certain hazardous occupations to shift to non-hazardous occupations.

Almost all the educational programmes known to the ILO attempt to provide education and technical training to working children without causing disruption in their working and socio-economic environment. Many are based on an appreciation of the serious practical difficulties facing child workers. Therefore, classes are often held after work hours, usually in the evenings. Even this may prove to be an unrealistic arrangement in some cases. Many children put in very long hours of work, and most work through the whole week. Evening or night schools could, therefore, be unsuitable for child workers who, after a whole day's work, would be too exhausted to attend classes. For this reason, some schools are run on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

Many non-formal schooling projects provide not only free educational materials, and in some cases even free uniforms, but also a fairly wide range of social services such as medical care and free meals. Some projects insist on a symbolic fee for meals and medical services in order to ensure and reinforce the child's commitment to the programme and to instil in the child the philosophy and practice of self-reliance.

The provision of free or subsidised nutrition and health services is intended not only to meet the needs of the children but also to promote school attendance and improve educational performance. Access to snacks or one good meal a day could more than make up for lost earnings that result from missing work owing to school attendance. Nutrition has been found to be an effective way of interesting child workers in education and training programmes and in ensuring school attendance. Some projects go further and establish additional conditions for enrolment and for ensuring regular school attendance. They may require a would-be student to obtain permission from guardians and employers — the guardian because school attendance may result in a reduction of earnings, and the employer because the child may need time off from work.

The cost of providing education can be high. Therefore, in order to reduce costs, some projects or programmes have tried to mobilise community support to provide classes and equipment and to enlist volunteer teachers. Others have been able to operate their own schools with donations from government or municipal authorities. Still others take advantage of the excess capacity in existing educational institutions by holding evening classes after the regular sessions finish for the day. A project in the Philippines sets up mobile schools in tents near the places where the children work and relies on contributions and assistance from various government agencies. For example, the Department of Education, Culture and Sport provides managerial support, establishes the schools, organises street children and provides social services and the Department of Health provides basic health and nutritional services.

It is reported that the experience of ongoing non-formal education and training projects is on the whole encouraging. First, such approaches provide opportunities for children to become literate and to improve their education and skills without disrupting work or without sacrificing income. In addition, these projects have demonstrated that it is feasible to complete the regular educational programme without sacrificing quality, even though the duration of instruction time is shorter than in the regular schools. Secondly, these schools can be used not only as a medium for imparting education, but also as a means of delivering other important services such as health care and nutrition. Thirdly, they provide opportunities for social interaction, recreation, and participation in community activities. Fourthly, since many of these projects can carry out their educational activities in existing government or community schools, they provide a cost-effective, inexpensive way of providing education and welfare facilities.

These positive experiences notwithstanding, non-formal education and training programmes also face several problems such as absenteeism due to pressure of work and a reluctance by employers to facilitate school attendance; late arrivals, since many childworkers are unable to leave their jobs on time; and high drop-out rates owing to frequent change of jobs and residence.

70. *Effective Programmes for Street Children*

William Myers

"Alternative Services for Street Children: The Brazilian Approach", in Bequele, A. and Boyden, J. (eds), *Combating Child Labour*. Geneva: ILO, 1988 (134-7).

Owing to the great diversity of situations, even within Brazil, it made less sense to define effective interventions in terms of specific practices than in terms of basic concepts and principles which could be adapted to differing circumstances. Based on its continuing observation of local programmes serving street children, the Project developed a list of such principles which it considered to be linked to success in assisting street children. Although developed specifically for attending to the needs of urban children and youth working on the streets, they are also indicative of the types of services which could be provided for other disadvantaged working children and youth. The following principles have important implications for changes in national policies and programmes.

1. *The objective of services to street children should be to promote their integrated physical, mental and social development.* Most street children, like other working children, need supportive assistance rather than rescue. Thus, the most effective programmes forcefully promote child development rather than simply react to emergency needs or perceived faults of behaviour. This orientation provides a rational framework into which activities meeting immediate needs (e.g. health and nutrition, shelter, etc.) can be fitted, turning what would otherwise be merely palliative measures into productive investments in the child's growth. In Brazil the adoption of this perspective led to expanding the domain of programme action beyond social assistance to emphasise education and work. The pursuit of this objective also led to the establishment of child-centred programmes that focused on the varying needs of their participants, rather than on only one aspect of the children's needs. The Project found, for example, that effective community programmes tended towards comprehensiveness, trying to produce at least most of the following results:

Physical:
(a) general health improvements, including reductions in the incidence and severity of disease and other health problems, obtained through the provision of daily meals and access to medical and dental assistance;
(b) access to appropriate shelter and clothing through means that exclude institutionalisation;

Emotional:
(a) establishment of respect and affection with both adults and peers capable of stimulating in the child feelings of self-identity and self-esteem;
(b) frequent access to adults or older youths to whom the children relate and who can serve as positive models;

Intellectual:
(a) school attendance, at least until literacy and basic computational skills have been attained;
(b) development of life skills, especially those pertaining to earning a dignified living;
(c) development of a critical capacity sufficient for questioning and judging reality;

Economic:
(a) improvement in income to the child through improved organisation and efficiency of work;

(b) income sufficient to meet the child's basic needs while providing protection against exploitation and physical and moral dangers;
(c) fair remuneration for the work accomplished;
(d) contributions by the child to improve the material quality of family life;
(e) preparation for self-support as an adult.

2. *It is easier to help and protect children who have to work before they become dependent on the street.* Many of the most noteworthy "street children programmes" concentrated on preventing the breakdown of family ties and the increasing marginalisation that tends to afflict children who spend long periods on the street. They found it more effective to work with children who are in danger of ending up on the street than with those who already have been there for extended periods of time. The deteriorated circumstances and toughened personality characteristics of children long dependent on the street often render work with them far more difficult. Such preventive interventions usually involve providing protected employment alternatives for poor children and youth so that they will not have to work on the street. Through such early interventions, family, school, religious and other community ties can be more effectively maintained.

3. *Work should be made an educational instrument that will promote the child's development rather than impede it.* It is necessary to respect the desires of children who feel they need to work and to help them deal effectively with their income-generation problems. The decision to work is for most youngsters linked to strong feelings of family responsibility, self-esteem and survival, especially for the large proportion from households lacking employable adult males. Although they may not agree with the situation, effective programmes honour this decision as given, and place central importance on helping their participants to deal successfully with this part of their lives in ways consistent with personal development. They do this in many ways such as organising working children into co-operatives, offering skills training and providing enriched employment in sheltered workshops. Such programmes protect their participants by structuring the work context and arrangements to serve significant educational objectives, and not only to provide income.

4. *Promoting the development of street children entails a process of education for life based on constant dialogue and dealing with the problem of their everyday lives.* Prior to the Project, a few local programmes working in some of the more difficult situations involving street children had evolved the use of "street educators", often specially trained volunteer youths and young adults, to approach and befriend children on the street, engaging them in continuous dialogue and helping them work through their problems. The whole idea was to take a highly relevant education to the children in the street, in the knowledge that they were too suspicious or intimidated to come at first to the programme or the school. Impressed by the effectiveness of this approach, the Project helped further refine and promote it, and today street educators are common to programmes all over the country. Street education requires both the sensibility to understand and accept the children as they are without imposing judgement and the perspective to help guide them into insights and relationships that will break down marginalisation and help them make a place for themselves in society.

5. *Children should be encouraged to regard themselves as agents of change in their own lives, and they should participate in the planning and execution of programme efforts on their behalf.* The self-esteem of street children tends to suffer from the constant disparagement, exploitation and violence to which they are exposed. They need space in which to be able to assert their own interests and shape their own lives, both in their work and in other areas. Successful programmes make opportunities for ample participation by their children in deciding and carrying out activities.

6. *Schooling should be adapted to meet the practical learning needs of poor children in general and of working children in particular.* Various experiments demonstrated that working children would attend schools providing flexible hours to accommodate their work schedules. Others demonstrated that school success (in terms of literacy levels and grade repetition) could be dramatically improved without significant cost through adapting teaching methods to the reality of working pupils.

Principles such as those above were derived from continuous observation of programmes and discussions with community programme practitioners. They represent an "inside" view that emerged over time from the programmes themselves. However, because very few local programmes systematically evaluate their effects on children, it is difficult to know how conclusions subjectively arrived at would stand up in carefully controlled scientific studies.

Therefore, outside evaluators were engaged to assess how, and to what extent, children benefited from involvement in 11 fairly typical community programmes. Based on observations of the behaviour of programme participants, the results strongly suggested that major developmental benefits did in fact occur in the areas of work competence, social skills, personal maturity and moral values. This study also confirmed somewhat greater effectiveness for "preventive" programmes working with children before they have become dependent on the street. However, it did not compare the impact of different programme components and activities, and hence could not identify which were most effective in securing developmental progress.

71. *Planning Rural Education*

Abner Prada

"Towards a Realistic Approach to Rural Education", *Prospects*, XIII, 1982-3, UNESCO, (346-9).

A strategy designed to make the rural community assume responsibility for basic education should include promotional efforts with the following basic tasks: to help people to see education as a social act; to determine the various types of educator and the various forms of educational action; to establish training requirements in different subjects, for different individuals and groups; to achieve a situation in which each individual feels himself to be, and actually is, an educator and a student; to help to remove the paternalistic element from education and services; and to recognize local resources, the cultural strength of the community.

The school would then be seen as a supportive institution within the educational process and the teacher as a community worker involved in certain aspects of this process. The education of children would not be confined to the school. The school is the community, the home, the family plot, the place of recreation.

The plan to entrust responsibility for basic education to the community is the most important innovation in rural development. When the adult population understands its implications, they will realize that they are included in a process of permanent education. The educational process will emerge, functionally, from the people's discovery of their own educational needs and their attempts to provide for those needs.

For years there has been disagreement in Latin America about rural education policy. Some maintain that there is a single form of education with a single set of general objectives. Others stress the need for structures, curricula and methodologies specially designed for the rural environment.

The enormous importance of the rural sector and agricultural production in developing countries would tend to substantiate the views of those who advocate a form of education geared to the needs of the rural community, since the solution of the serious problems of the agricultural sector in the immediate future will require the ruralization of the overall educational system.

In regard to rural education in particular, the problem has to be seen in terms of the need to localize education by closely relating it to the environment in question (in a form of environmentalization); here the term 'environment' refers to the interactional complex comprising ecological and biological factors. In view of the universality of its conception, this approach, which certain documents have termed 'ecological methodology', should be accepted as suitable for application to the overall educational system.

In a context where the division of labour is negligible, the danger of technical and agricultural education becoming an end in itself is far greater than in occupational situations where the activities of each worker are clearly defined. The rural family ploughs, sows, tills the soil, and harvests, transports and sells its produce. Any of its members may be involved in the complete process of animal rearing.

One of the features of urban life is a more or less pronounced separation of work and the other aspects of daily life. Such a separation is extremely rare in the rural environment. At a certain time, the urban worker can hang up his working clothes and do something different. The members of an urban family are able to enjoy social, cultural or recreational pursuits which are quite unrelated to their work situation.

In a rural environment, on the other hand, the entire family continually has to concern itself with the crops and the animals. Whether the farm be small, medium-sized or large, it cannot close on certain days like a workshop or an office.

It is essential that a form of continuous education (basic, elementary and general) should be integrated into this work-oriented reality.

However, a concept of this magnitude calls for unequivocal political decisions. Many rural education projects, experiments and programmes have lost momentum and have had to be abandoned as a result of a loss of enthusiasm on the part of the political bodies responsible for them. A large-scale movement for rural education is a movement for improved living standards and equal opportunity. Thus, a man who becomes aware of the importance of good health will demand hospital facilities.

A Different Educational Structure

It would be useful to consider in this context a number of changes in the local structure and operational mechanisms, with a view to determining regional support requirements. The question is whether the small, ill-equipped school which until now has been the principal, and sometimes the only, State facility in small villages can be converted into a rural community-education centre. In broad outline, such a centre should:

- Centralize community services.
- Meet the needs of the school-age members of the community, using schools with one teacher for several grades.
- Supply the necessary adult-education resources and organize basic education throughout the community.
- Serve as a base for grass-roots organizations.
- Organize and maintain technical and agricultural assistance.
- Help mothers to educate their children and give them instruction in domestic economy.
- Help young people to organize their own activities.
- Set up a community larder in the area for children's meals.

- Organize a small rural workshop to meet the needs of the community.
- Provide central facilities for the reception of radio programmes and cultural TV programmes (where possible).
- Promote purchasing and marketing co-operatives.

In short, an effort will be made to combine all the available resources and create an open supply of educational opportunities.

Priority for Young People and Women

In the rural environment, children go straight into adulthood, passing from the world of play to a life of duty and responsibility. For the young person living in a rural community who is called to premature adulthood, adolescence is a difficult and confusing period of life, fraught with frustrations and demands. A very low percentage of students leaving the rural school go on to secondary school or take up some form of apprenticeship on the family smallholding. In general, these youths find temporary jobs with agricultural enterprises in the area or emigrate to the towns and cities, where they will have to face a hard life. However, emigration would generally seem to offer a better life than remaining in the rural environment.

The large-scale dissipation of energy and will which occurs in these countries through a lack of opportunity for young people may be compared only to the wastage of uncultivated land. Realistic schemes have to be devised to meet the needs of young people. These schemes should aim at encouraging economic, social and political involvement through the establishment of independent organizations which are completely under the control of the young people who belong to them.

Women play a particularly important role in the subsistence-farming areas of Latin America. Since the men are away in other regions for a good part of the year, working to earn sums which generally constitute the principal income of the group, women have to solve day-to-day problems and assume the role of head of the household. In the absence of the men, women have to tend the crops and the animals, feed and bring up their children and, in many cases, defend their meagre possessions.

Women are generally involved in all the production processes on the family plot and, sometimes, also on their neighbours' plots. However, certain jobs such as vegetable growing, looking after the smaller animals, and handicrafts are done almost exclusively by women. Thus, the women's involvement in pre-school education is crucial. Pre-school education in rural areas cannot be planned without taking into account the educative role of the mother. The idea of setting up pre-school institutions in areas with an isolated and scattered population is absolutely impracticable. Instead, the mothers themselves should be regarded as educators, and crèches and kindergartens should be organized in rural homes.

In this sense, women are students and educators, and the rural home is the natural learning environment in the areas with small farmsteads.

Effective Participation of Rural Communities

It is sometimes difficult to obtain effective community participation in the organization of rural community-education centres.

Participation implies power-sharing within the social system and, obviously, effective involvement in the decision-making process. Initially, this will take the form simply of a basic effort towards joint action, in accordance with common objectives and solutions adopted by the group involved. In this way, the participatory process should evolve a form of group leadership, breaking away from the traditional pattern of leadership and the accompanying risks.

It frequently happens that the rural community is confronted with persons who have completed a process which puts them in a position to enforce their own options. We are proposing that the group itself should complete this process so that it can enforce the options which emerge from its own needs.

This endeavour has to be based on a form of inter-education which involves collective action. Accordingly, the traditional idea of the educator has to give way to a broader concept related to community needs.

In the first place, the teacher should master simple techniques enabling him to teach all the primary levels, so that a complete primary education can be obtained at any rural school.

Another sphere of activity is community guidance, which may be provided by the teacher, although it would be preferable for this work to be shared by the teacher and a rural community-education specialist. This specialist could be responsible for a number of communities, but it would seem preferable for him to be based in one community where he and the teacher would form a small team.

The rural community-education specialist would devote special attention to educational extension and the area of activity generally known as out-of-school activity. He will make progress in this regard only if he establishes a direct and permanent relationship with the families in the community.

Field work in rural communities should be supported and developed through a regional structure.

This regional structure should perform the functions of: co-ordination of all supporting resources; training and further-training programmes for personnel; guidance and technical assistance in the field and by correspondence; and production of educational materials for the entire area.

All these tasks require the co-operation of various bodies and services, including: the regional authorities of the ministry of education, the ministry of agriculture and the ministry of health, and the national planning agency, with a view to the co-ordination of resources and the advancement of the various institutions; universities, technological institutes, teacher-training colleges and agricultural colleges, agricultural experimental stations and agronomic research centres for personnel training and further training, guidance and technical assistance by correspondence, and production of educational materials.

72. *Appropriate Intervention*

Christopher Williams

"Who are 'Street Children'? A Hierarchy of Street Use and Appropriate Responses", *Child Abuse and Neglect*, 17, 1993, (839).

Four levels are discussed above which provide a basis for determining appropriate intervention ... Welfare is likely to assume greater importance at the lower end, where "rescue" and institutional provision are often the only viable options. This response could "create" street children if applied to those only partially estranged from home, towards the middle of the hierarchy, so an acceptance of improving the children's existing circumstances rather than total change is more appropriate. Education plays a greater part towards the top, where prevention of downward spirals is the main aim.

Broadly, education and welfare intervention can be seen to have three aims in relation to the hierarchy.

1. To change the *condition* of those trapped in the spiral of "degenerative estrangement." Education is likely to be corrective of attitudes relating to drugs, unnecessary crime, and the desire for continued street existence.
2. To change the *capabilities* of those for whom street use is, to some degree, a positive aspect of their existence, that is, to improve manual or business skills, or how to run a co-operative. This centralizes on accommodating an "assumed adult" status and recognizes school exclusion.
3. To change the *awareness* of children who at present use the streets to their benefit concerning:
   (a) the problems of those who are most dependent on the streets, to encourage a more sympathetic and helpful attitude; and
   (b) the potential hazards of greater street use, for example exploitative influences, drugs; abduction, and the general pattern of irreversible downward spirals, that is, preventive education.

The recognition of a hierarchy in relation to street existence is no guarantee of appropriate intervention, but it provides an understanding that is less likely to lead to completely inappropriate responses.

73. *The Timing of Schooling*

Mary B. Anderson

Education for All: What Are We Waiting For? New York: UNICEF, 1992 (24).

Programmes to offer education to children whose families depend on their work can either pay families to offset their economic losses or alter the timing of school so that classes do not conflict with the children's work. The building block of *time* offers the one free programming option that educational planners have. Building new schools, designing a new curriculum or hiring new teachers always costs something, but changing the schedule of classes involves no additional financial commitment.

Ideas for when school should be held can come from communities. If parents set the schedules, planners know that there will not be constant competition for a child's time.

In the Dominican Republic, classes were offered to working children late in the day, after their work was finished. In rural Bangladesh, parents decided on the school schedule for their children, thus ensuring that it did not conflict with daily chores or with planting and harvest seasons. In Colombia, classes were organized so that children who had to miss some sessions because of work could make up those lessons on their own schedules.

In Ambakach, India, an innovative programme provided rice rations to families whose children attended school 80% of the time. Because girls' tasks in fetching water and firewood and caring for their younger brothers and sisters were so important for the families, the ration given for their attendance was larger than for boys.

CASE STUDIES

Programme and Project Experience

Some projects in basic education for working children have a long history, preceding, in some instances, the Jomtien Declaration by decades. In India and Tanzania, for example, supplementary educational schemes have long been part of official policy, and are related to the revolutionary ideologies of the immediate post-independence period. One lesson learned is that community involvement is essential for basic education schemes to be effective. Community resources and community needs are part of the planning process, for both teaching methods and curriculum. The successful interventions of non-governmental organizations also bear this out. The now large-scale BRAC project in Bangladesh also illustrates the importance of training local people as teachers.

74. *Programming Basic Education in India*

Chitra Naik

"India: Extending Primary Education through Non-formal Approaches", *Prospects*, XIII (1), 1983, UNESCO (64-8).

Starting the Classes

By the end of January 1980, all the classes had started. The initial enrolment was 1,434 pupils — 1,080 girls and 354 boys. The project staff, helped by local leaders, organized public meetings to explain the difference between a government 'scheme' of part-time classes and the institute's 'action-research'. Community participation was invited in organizing and supervising the classes. The pupils also were given an idea of their roles in developing the project in which they had become participants.

The classes began to meet in rent-free accommodation in thirty-four school-rooms, sixteen teachers' houses, fourteen temples, thirteen private homes, four panchayat offices and cattlesheds. In two semi-tribal hamlets, the community constructed special sheds, and for one of these the village headman donated the tiles he had purchased for repairing the roof of his own house.

Project Staff: Training and Development

Except for the project adviser and project director, none of the project staff possessed any previous research training or experience. The project officer had worked as a block development officer, as a teacher-educator in a rural primary training college and also as an extension officer (education). Hailing from a rural family of moderate means, he was fully aware of the problems and needs of the rural society in Pune district. This was considered an asset. The training officer, a woman, had been a teacher-educator for pre-school teachers. Her membership of the project team was expected to encourage parents to send girls to the part-time classes. The monitoring and evaluation officer had taught in a rural institute and possessed extensive experience in the organization and evaluation of rural co-operatives. After some exploration for the post of material production officer, the work was entrusted to a staff member of the institute's State Resource Centre for Non-formal Education.

Initial and recurrent orientation of project staff was undertaken by the project adviser and project director. Discussions focused on problems of primary education, techniques of participatory action-research, community organization, curriculum designs, group interaction and several other aspects of the project.

With a view to providing a learning atmosphere in the whole project and training future researchers, the research officers and project assistants were encouraged to read further for the M.A. degree (external) of the University of Poona, mainly opting for economics, sociology and political science. Those who held good master's degrees were encouraged to undertake Ph.D. work. A set of textbooks required for these courses has been provided in the institute's library.

Training of Teachers

It was decided to train the teachers recurrently and in the milieu where they worked. The teachers walk to the central village in a project area to attend training from 11 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. for five days at a time, every six weeks. During training, they return to their respective villages each evening and teach under the supervision of one or two members of the project staff. On training days, an allowance is paid to each teacher by way of reimbursement of loss in daily wages.

The objective of training is to improve the educational level of the teachers and to help them understand the problems involved in universalizing primary education in order to enhance their desire to participate in the project. Besides, they are helped to acquire the skills of organizing non-formal primary classes and the essential pedagogical techniques which were never a part of their own scholastic experience. It is recognized that teacher-socialization of the right kind is one of the crucial prerequisites of the non-formal programme.

Training is conducted through group work in which the trainers and trainees discuss problems and prepare materials. Emphasis is laid on building up the trainees' self-confidence and self-esteem. They are sensitized towards their new roles as stimulators of community education and development. They are helped to prepare improvised materials, write out their work plans and prepare reports from a research angle. The training material consists of cyclostyled discussion sheets. A circulating library is organized for the teachers in each project area. It contains fiction, informative books, a science journal in the local language (Marathi) and one popular children's magazine.

The Curriculum

The unit analysis of the prescribed curriculum has been made to facilitate selection of suitable units for the part-time classes. Some new units relevant to the pupils' environment are added. History, geography and science merge into one another as interconnected general knowledge of natural phenomena, environment and human affairs. Language and number are related to the pupil's day-to-day transactions and exploration of life. The intention is that reasoning and aesthetic sensitivity should be developed by all activities. Observation of the social and physical environment and talking about it analytically helps both language and reasoning skills. Stories, songs, and simple *yogasanas* provide the relaxation exercises badly needed by a tired group of working children. The awareness of basic human values, of personal identity as workers and learners, and of an active future for youth pervades the entire curriculum, the materials, stories and songs specially composed for the project. Social awareness becomes real on Independence Day, Republic Day and Gandhi Jayanti (Gandhi's birthday), when pupils put on plays, take part in processions, organize meetings and speak in elocution competitions, all the while co-operating with the formal primary school and other organizations in the community.

Equipment and Teaching Aids

Only a few of the villages in the project have electricity, and kerosene lanterns have to be used in most of them. The project supplies four lanterns to each class. The pupils are divided into four groups, one around each lantern. This arrangement helps peer-group learning and ungraded learner clusters. Even where electricity is available, learning is organized in such interactive groups. For prayers, stories, games and songs, the teacher and pupils sit on the floor in a circle, face to face. The formal class arrangement in rows is never used. The bored child at the back who causes problems of discipline is unknown in these classes. When stories are dramatized, the centre of the circle is used by the players and the audience participates. Parlour games also can be easily organized in this circular arrangement. Each pupil has a name badge which not only builds up self-esteem and identity but helps the quick acquisition of literacy.

The constraints of accommodation and lighting make traditional equipment like wall-charts, wall-blackboards and stand-blackboards unsuitable for these classes. Besides, the circular class arrangement and group learning need an altogether different kind of equipment. Therefore each class is supplied with a small lightweight blackboard which the teacher can move from group to group. A folding flannel-graph of double foolscap size, with pockets for holding language and numeracy materials, has been specially designed. It can be conveniently stood on the floor and used in lamplight. A set of wooden cutouts of all the letters of the alphabet, vowel signs and numbers can be used with the flannel graph. A large canvas bag has been designed to hold the blackboard and all other teaching/learning equipment. All this material costs less than 100 rupees per class.

Teaching/learning Materials

Teaching-learning techniques and materials are an integrated package. These promote self-learning through learning games, peer-group interaction and co-operative evaluation by the pupils themselves. Sets of cards provide basic literacy and numeracy materials. Supplementary reading materials based on units within or beyond the curriculum are liberally provided to each class.

Feedback from the pupils is considered to be the best way to evaluate and revise materials. Initially, a profusely illustrated primer was prepared on the assumption that rural pupils would be happy with the traditional 'primer and slate' symbols of school entry. The primer was based on tape-recorded rural conversations. Still, it was not free from urban concepts and phraseology unfamiliar to the rural pupils, because its writers were thoroughly urban. The teachers and pupils suggested several modifications. Finally, the primer was substituted by three sets of reading cards which used local themes and idiom. These were well received. Also, the pupils preferred them to the omnibus primer as they could be used at each pupil's pace and helped in the devising of learning games. Another assumption that a child must 'possess' a primer was also proved wrong. Cards, slates and other aids were distributed to pupils when they came to the class. The pupils learnt to put them away carefully before leaving. Since no 'homework' was assigned, this arrangement worked successfully. By way of out-of-class learning, the pupils were encouraged to observe natural phenomena, vegetation, birds, animals, insects, rocks and soil, sources of water and food for the villages, etc., to discover village history and report their findings to the class systematically. The collection of different specimens and their classification by the comparison of characteristics was encouraged. This constituted an exercise in inquiry and reasoning. In their spare time during the day, the pupils made toys and figurines from clay, drew pictures and patterns and did a variety of handwork entirely on their own, using local materials like straw, wood, nuts, seeds, birds' nests, snake-skins and whatever else they fancied.

Teaching Methods and Learner Evaluation

The project has tried to reduce the oppressive authority of the teacher by designating him *Bhau* (brother). Women teachers are *Tái* (sister). These designations also help to 'deprofessionalize' the teachers and establish an informal relationship between the teacher and the taught. Group methods leave the teachers free from continuous teaching, give them time to guide and observe each pupil and record his or her progress carefully in a daily diary and on the progress card. During group work, the pupils constantly interchange among themselves the roles of 'tutor' and 'tutee'. The teacher, however, is their acknowledged guide and referee. Participatory learning automatically makes evaluation also a participatory process, helps each pupil in self-diagnosis and in self-corrected learning. In addition to such daily evaluation, the project organizes periodical evaluation every 5½ months by holding a children's fair (*Bal Jatra*) where the pupils' progress can be systematically assessed in a relaxed, non-examination atmosphere. Villages selected for the fair help make arrangements for games, sports and clean drinking water. Some classes come to the fair in small processions, the pupils singing a cadre-song specially written for 'working and learning children'. The programme of the fair consists of games, story-telling, singing in the first half of the day and testing of achievement in the latter half, using specially devised evaluation tools. Pupils are divided into small groups for self-testing with graded evaluation tools for literacy and numeracy. They also demonstrate their skill in telling stories and singing songs. The performance of each pupil is observed by a pair of 'external' teachers who carefully fill an evaluation sheet according to given instructions.

In the *Bal Jatra* of June 1980, the tests were directed mainly towards finding out how many pupils had crossed the illiteracy barrier. In the second *Bal Jatra* held in December, 1980, the levels of fluency in reading were investigated. Numeracy was similarly tested. In the second test, 53.14 per cent of pupils were found to have adequately mastered reading skills in about one year. Among these about 30 per cent could 'sight-read' any given material with fluency. However, 47 per cent of pupils were classified as 'barely literate' and 170 pupils were still struggling with the alphabet.

As regards numeracy, about 51 per cent of pupils had mastered addition and subtraction, arrangement of sets, and actual counting of things up to fifty. But 26 per cent had proceeded beyond this stage. Most of the pupils could do simple mental arithmetic connected with daily transactions and recognize geometrical shapes. The level of achievement correlated with attendance. Pupils who had been able to attend for about 250 days a year had done well.

The Classes

The part-time classes have no bells either to call the pupils or to dismiss class. Pupils come mostly in groups. If there are any pupils who are afraid of the dark or have to be encouraged to attend, the teacher makes a round of the village to collect them. The fear of ghosts and wild animals is widely prevalent. Crossing streams and walking through dark patches of the jungle at night become easier in groups. Before entering the class, the pupils have to spruce themselves up. In the beginning, therefore, each class was provided with a bucket of water, napkins, a small mirror and combs. After some months this arrangement became superfluous because the pupils learnt to tidy themselves up at home.

The manners and etiquette which the pupils have absorbed surprise many an outsider. They have learnt to greet everyone — young and old, known or unknown, and to speak boldly. They take part in discussions, play and laugh but control the class themselves. Taking out teaching/learning materials and putting them back systematically is their job. Very few slates have been damaged. The cards, however, get soiled rather quickly. Books get frayed at the edges. But there has been hardly any total loss of materials.

The teacher-pupil relationship has to be carefully watched as many of the men teachers are under 25 and the classes consist largely of 12- to 14-year-old girls. So far, only one teacher had to be replaced under advice from the villagers. This was done tactfully by the local leaders. Community control, a brotherly relationship with the teacher and the extraordinary maturity of the children, who are used to carrying out adult tasks and have no leisure for the kind of unsettlement common among well-to-do adolescents, seem to make for good discipline.

Follow-up Action

At the end of two years, nearly 75 per cent of pupils from this batch (called 'A' batch) have gained reading and numeracy skills. Selected lessons from the textbooks prescribed by government have been used for final evaluation in language, and the pupils have stood the test well. Of the initial enrolment of 1,434 pupils, about 1,000 continued until the end of the classes. After the final test, only seventy-six pupils — mostly boys — wished to take the formal Grade 4 examination, at the behest of parents. For the girls, the formal examination has no attraction. They are happy to be able to read and write letters, keep accounts, tell stories and make little speeches. But they want their education to continue. As a follow-up, therefore, two devices are now planned: experimental 'Reading and Culture Clubs' — two in each project area — and a fortnightly news-sheet for all alumni of the non-formal classes. On the advice of some leaders, certificates are being issued to the alumni stating the level of efficiency achieved in literacy, numeracy and general information.

75. *The BRAC Nonformal Education Programme in Bangladesh*

C.H. Lovell and K. Fatima

Assignment Children: The BRAC Non-formal Primary Educational Programme in Bangladesh. New York: UNICEF, 1989 (7-11, 13-22).

Bangladesh ranks 107th in literacy among 131 countries, with a rate of 33% for those 15 and older, and 85% of rural women cannot read or write or understand numbers at a functional level. Although 80% of the population lives in rural areas, 70% of the education investment goes to urban areas, most to higher education. Bangladesh spends 2.2% of its GNP on education, compared with the regional average of 4.4%. In its most recent five-year plan, Bangladesh stated a goal of reaching 70% of its primary school-age children with education by the year 1990. Budget appropriations, however, make the implementation of this goal unlikely.

Recent studies show that 44% of primary school-age students do not enroll in government primary schools. Of those who do enroll, 48% leave school before completing the third grade and 62% before completing the fifth grade. Non-enrolment and drop-out rates for girls are even higher. The reasons appear to be unmotivated or absent teachers, large classes (on average 59 students to one teacher in the primary grades), irrelevant curricula, lack of books and other materials, unequal treatment of poor children, fear of failure and unauthorized fees.

The BRAC schools have experienced a drop-out rate of 1.5% for the full three-year programme (loss is primarily because families must move away), and daily attendance surpasses 95%. Statistics show that 95% of those who have finished the three-year programme have passed examinations allowing them to enter the fourth grade in the formal system.

The enrolment of these students in the government schools was a totally unanticipated development, and an especially significant one because these children are from the poorest families and more than 65% are girls. In the past, observers of primary education throughout the developing world have said that the poorest children and girls did not go to school because their parents needed them to help in the field or for other work or in the home, or because the parents did not value education. The BRAC experience suggests that there are variables more important than poverty that influence parents' and children's decisions about school enrolment and attendance. Relevant curricula, dedicated and well-supervised teachers, reasonable class size, parent involvement, accessibility of schools to home and low cost are apparently significant variables.

The BRAC Schools

The target of the BRAC schools is the "unreachable" — those children that research has shown have been deprived of access to education because of poverty and gender. The schools all lie in rural villages and the children selected for admission belong to families of the poorest of the landless. In Bangladesh nearly 70% of rural families are landless, and almost no wage employment exists except for part-time work on farms.

The goal of the schools is to enroll 70% girls, and to date girls make up 69.85% of enrolment. Girls are a special focus since women are responsible for the care of children, for the health of their families, for nutrition and hygiene. Furthermore, research indicates that women with even a small amount of education are more receptive to new ideas, to family planning, to nutrition teaching, to improvements in hygiene and sanitation, to understanding about immunization and diarrhoea control. Education also brings a sense of self-worth and fosters respect from others.

The criteria for selecting villages where schools will be located include parent demand, availability of teacher candidates and proximity to a cluster of other villages that meet the first two criteria. For management, supervision and continuing teacher training, clustering of the schools is essential.

BRAC has been implementing two primary school models directed to two different age groups. The first, called Non-Formal Primary Education (NFPE), is a three-year programme for children 8 to 10 years old who have never enrolled in school, or who have dropped out during the first year. One teacher takes the children through all three grades. Classes meet for two and a half hours each day for the first and second grades and three hours for the third.

The second model is an experiment, started in 1988, with a two-year programme for children 11 to 14 years old who have never attended school. This programme, called Primary Education for Older Children (PEOC), now has 920 experimental schools. Nearly 75% of the students are girls. Those already married are not accepted into the programme because cultural norms in Bangladesh proscribe the mobility of young married girls.

The NFPE curriculum has been adapted for the PEOC and condensed. The older children have learned much faster than anticipated. The curriculum designers originally expected that the 11- to 14-year-old children could learn in two years what the younger children learn in three. Instead, the older students have taken only one and a half years to cover the material, and a new, fourth phase of the curriculum had to be quickly developed to keep up with them. The curriculum has to be more functionally oriented, particularly in the second year, because many of these students are too old to transfer to the government schools, even if they are not required to work full time to help their families. The low drop-out and high attendance rates are similar to those achieved by the younger children. The most recent data available indicates that over 40% of the children, the youngest and mostly girls, want to transfer to the fourth grade.

In both types of schools, the particular time that classes are held in each village is decided in meetings with parents. Classes are conducted six days a week for an average of 268 days each year. Government schools are scheduled for only 220 days a year. BRAC's educational specialists believe that long vacations interrupt and reduce learning. The most convenient timing for the short vacation periods is decided between the teachers and the parents to suit seasonal work or religious needs.

The student-teacher ratio is kept strictly at 30 students to one teacher no matter how strong the demand. If the demand is great, a second school can be started in the same village, provided that a teacher can be found. There is usually a waiting list of potential teachers.

Each school requires a minimum of 240 square feet (22.30 square metres) of space. The facility is rented at minimum cost from some group or individual in the community. Often a landless group will construct the school and make it available to the programme for a very low rent but sufficient to pay for initial materials and repairs. At present, all of the schools are typical village structures with woven bamboo or mud walls, thatch or tin roofs and earthen floors. The schools do not have their own latrines or tubewells, so they must be located near these necessities.

Children sit on woven mats on the floor. The teacher has a stool and a trunk in which materials are kept and which also serves as a table. Each school has a blackboard and charts, and each student is given a slate, pencils, notebooks, and textbooks. Children usually sit in a "U" shape but can move around as they help one another, go to the blackboard, or to the teacher's stool.

Children are expected to learn their lessons in the classroom. Only small amounts of homework which can be done independently are assigned. Since nearly all parents are illiterate, students can get little or no help with their assignments at home. This attitude toward homework is very different from the government schools, where teachers assume that much of the learning will take place outside the classroom and large amounts of homework are assigned as a matter of course. The more affluent parents of children attending government schools may hire tutors to ensure that their children cover all required material and can pass the examinations. Often the same teachers who teach the students in school serve as tutors.

Teachers

The BRAC school teachers are chosen from among the more educated in a village. A person selected to be trained as a BRAC teacher must have completed nine or more years of school and must be married. Preference is given to women who at present make up about 75% of the teachers. This is in contrast to the government schools where 86% of the primary teachers are men. One criterion for choosing a village where a school will be opened is whether an acceptable person to be trained as a teacher can be found.

Teacher selection is made through an interview process conducted by the programme's field managers, which takes place at a location near the village. The applicant is asked to read a newspaper aloud, write on a blackboard, write an address on an envelope, converse with the interviewing committee and perform other similar exercises. Good basic literacy and numeracy, strong common sense, presence, ability to articulate, and interest in children are the attributes desired. Those selected receive 12 days of training in one of BRAC's five residential training centres or in area offices. A few of the recruits (less than 5%) may be dropped at the end of the training if they don't measure up. During the first three months of teaching, the teacher's performance is especially closely observed; a few teachers have been replaced during this probationary period.

Teachers are paid a very small monthly stipend, currently 350 Taka per month (about US$10) the first year, 375 Taka the second year, and 400 Taka the third year. (The average annual income in Bangladesh is under US$200 per capita.) This stipend may be compared to the monthly salaries of the government teachers, which average about Tk 1,200 per month (including benefits such as rent and medical allowances and pension) for longer daily hours but a shorter school year. The average monthly income of the families of the BRAC students is about Tk 500 (about US$17).

The BRAC teachers are under contract; they are not tenured. Teaching is not a sinecure for life to be held regardless of performance. The school setting is highly structured and closely supervised by BRAC's Programme Organizers and by the parents.

If a BRAC teacher is very well qualified and has had at least a year of experience, and if a second class is required in the same village or one nearby, the teacher can take on a second class with commensurate pay. There is almost no paid work available for women in the villages and employment as a teacher gives women a small, regular, year-round income and respected status. This is an additional, important outcome of the programme. Most of the women teachers are between 20 and 30 years old and many have children of their own. There is some evidence that the women teachers are more receptive to family planning. Only about 2% of the teachers have become pregnant since the schools have started. Those who do have babies take a short leave without pay. The male teachers are a bit older than the female teachers; their ages range between 25 and 35.

There is very little absenteeism among the teachers. Each teacher is allowed 10 days of leave per year in addition to the holidays. Unauthorized absences result in a loss of Tk 10 per day. If a teacher is absent classes are not stopped. When a teacher is sick she tells the school committee and one of the committee members or another parent sits with the class. Sometimes the brighter third-year students assist the others in review and exercises.

The teacher drop-out rate is less than 2%. Usually teachers resign only if their husbands must move away. In villages with BRAC schools, BRAC maintains a waiting list of those who wish to become teachers. A replacement teacher can soon be made available if a teacher must move away or quit for some other reason.

Teacher Training

The teacher training methods now in use were developed through trial and error. The first training materials and methods tried were far too sophisticated and did not accomplish their purpose. Training approaches, methods and materials were changed several times until effective ones were developed. Training manuals evolved from this process are now in use. The teacher-trainers are trained by education specialists working together with training specialists of BRAC's Training and Resource Centres (TARC).

The initial 12 days of teacher training are held in residential centres and emphasize basic concepts of learning theory and practice teaching. Five days are spent on concepts, seven days on role-playing as teachers and learning how to prepare lesson plans.

Teachers are trained in groups of 20 to 25. The training is learner-centred and participatory, but structured. It is designed to allow the teachers to experience the kind of learning that they will be facilitating in the classroom.

Trainees are introduced to teaching materials that they will be using: books, workbooks, accompanying teaching notes, and teaching aids such as charts, picture cards, and counting sticks. They are taught to utilize peer assistance methods: for example, assigning stronger students to help the weaker and how to place them to render peer assistance effective. They are taught never to punish a child but to use other methods of discipline. Comprehension rather than memorization is stressed. Teachers are taught the importance of class routines and they are given a general structure that must be followed, although individual teachers may vary the timing.

All teachers attend continuing teacher training sessions one day each month. Teachers from about 20 neighbouring villages meet together with their supervising Programme Organizer to discuss problems and to work on teaching-learning issues. The monthly teacher training days, which are run by the field supervisors, focus on experiences in the classroom and problems encountered. Teachers of each grade have different refresher days, i.e., first-grade teachers together, second-grade teachers together, and so on. Discussions center around identified general problems and the difficulties of the weaker teachers. The more experienced and better teachers participate in the discussions and help the weaker teachers. Sometimes, in addition to the monthly training days, an experienced teacher from one village will visit a teacher in a neighboring village to assist with problems.

All teachers attend a six-day refresher training course at the beginning of the second year. This refresher training course concentrates on deepening the teacher's understanding of learning concepts and on improvements in teaching methods.

How can a majority of the teachers function successfully with so little initial training? The monthly experience-based training days and the yearly refresher training courses are important in supplementing the intial training. But probably most important in helping the teachers to perform effectively is the very structured curriculum and the use of daily lesson plans, and the nature of the learning materials which have been prepared in simple modular form, with teaching notes. Also, a strong supervision system is in place (about one supervisor for 15 teachers) so that each teacher's performance is closely supervised and ways are found to help when there are problems.

Curriculum and Teaching Materials

The curriculum for the schools was initially developed with the part-time assistance of educational specialists from Dhaka University. BRAC developed a small core staff of its own education specialists who worked with the university specialists. The team spent more than two years on planning, developing and testing the curriculum and materials.

The initial step in curriculum development was to gather information about the targeted learners, their families, economic conditions, perceptions, levels of cognitive development, psychological and physiological growth. The formal schools in the rural areas, their curriculum, their relation to the community and the reasons they were succeeding or not were carefully studied.

After this basic research, the learning objectives for the BRAC non-formal schools were formulated, in terms of both concepts and skills. The curriculum subjects and the activities required to achieve the objectives were then decided. Instructional materials were developed and tested extensively in the first 22 experimental village schools. Finally, when books and other materials were deemed satisfactory, mass production by BRAC's printing press could begin to meet the rapid expansion of the schools.

The overarching objectives of the curriculum are to help the children to achieve basic literacy, numeracy and social awareness. The curriculum is divided into three subject areas: Bangla (the Bangladesh language), mathematics and social studies. The latter emphasizes health, including nutrition, hygiene, sanitation, safety and first aid, eco-systems, community, country, the world, and very basic science.

An important part of each day (40 minutes) is spent on co-curricular activities designed to develop the child more fully. These activities include physical exercise, singing, dancing, drawing, drafts and games, as well as storybook reading. The students love these activities, a factor which helps to assure high attendance.

The first eight weeks of the first grade is a preparatory or pre-primary phase with structured modules designed to develop the child's learning readiness and the ability to cope with school. During this phase the student learns many things such as colors, fine motor co-ordination to prepare for writing, shapes, rhyming, and pre-reading, writing and numeracy. Each student learns 36 words through the look-say method, learns to count, and so on.

After the introductory eight weeks a structured class routine continues. The two-and-a-half-hour day is divided into 30 minutes of reading with structured reading exercises, 20 minutes of writing including handwriting, spelling, making words and dictation, 35 minutes of mathematics, 25 minutes of social studies, and 40 minutes of co-curricular activities. Each day of the week is expected to include certain pre-set activities and a one-page suggested class routine is utilized. As the teacher gains experience, the pace and emphasis can be varied to meet the needs of the particular group of children.

Each teacher prepares a daily lesson plan, which must be based on the guidelines provided by the programme. The books for each class provide the framework for the lesson plan and become the principal learning guides for the students.

Every year students are provided with vernacular and mathematics books and in the second and third years, English and social studies books are added. In the first year the students are not given a social studies book. Social studies are taught through discussion, based on a special teacher's manual. In the first two years of the programme no English was taught, but in 1986 English was introduced in the latter part of the second year so that the children who wish to go on to the government schools in the fourth grade are not behind in this subject.

BRAC faces the need for additional reading materials for the children and has started publishing a children's magazine which is now distributed in the schools. Six story books for graduates are being developed and a circulating library is also getting started. It will consist of a system of three colored boxes per area containing story books. The yellow box will stay at one school for two months, then will be switched for the blue or red box at a neighboring school, and so on. BRAC has had much difficulty finding stories and books suitable for rural children and now is in the process of getting stories written and printing its own books.

In addition to books, each child receives one slate and slate pencil plus pencils, erasers, a lap board and 12 to 18 notebooks a year. The students make their own rulers from bamboo, based on a sample provided by the teacher. Each school receives a supply of materials every two months; these are kept in the school trunk until they are required by the students.

The BRAC schools have no formal annual examinations such as those which are a major feature in the government schools. The progress of the students is measured through carefully recorded, continuous assessments by the teacher, utilizing weekly and monthly tests. Students with learning difficulties and cases of individual problems are discussed in the monthly teacher training meetings and solutions are sought.

The BRAC teaching method is intended to be learner-centered and participatory, although not all teachers achieve this goal. The BRAC schools want the children to be active participants in learning rather than passive recipients of information. The emphasis is on the functional use of learning, not success in examinations, and the children's inquisitiveness is encouraged. In Bangla instruction, comprehension of words is stressed, rather than correct pronunciation. (The BRAC teachers themselves often do not pronounce words in high-level Bangla.)

The curriculum in BRAC schools differs from that of the government schools in several significant ways, although the major differences between the two systems are not as much in content as in teaching methods and teacher commitment. Basic reading, writing and mathematics are similar in the first two years. In the third year, the mathematics taught in the BRAC schools are quite different from that in the formal schools. BRAC schools emphasize the uses of mathematics for simple accounting, measurement, and handling of money. BRAC's social studies programme is almost totally different from that in the government schools. Its focus is on health concerns and values related to co-operation, relationships with neighbors, population problems, problems of early marriage, dowry and so on.

Due to the relatively small size of the BRAC classes, the children can participate actively. In reading, for example, the teacher may read model passages but each child also has a chance to read to the class. During social studies the topics are discussed, not "taught." On a subject such as water, for example, the teacher will first lead a general discussion in which the students tell what they know about water, then the teacher will suggest that they all look at the book together. The teacher will ask questions about the pictures. Discussions among the students are encouraged. Often a student is brought to the board and there other children help by discussing and correcting what the student writes. The students learn concepts through activities.

The teachers are taught to utilize positive reinforcement when a child completes an assignment properly or participates actively in classroom discussion. The teachers are expected to set an example for attendance and punctuality and to be self-disciplined, thereby becoming role models for the students. The teachers involve the children in maintaining classroom discipline. For example, individual students are selected by rotation as classroom leaders for a day or for a week at a time. The teachers see their main job as one of keeping the students motivated, interested and busy with varied and non-monotonous activities. They do not define themselves as disciplinarians.

In most villages the relationship between teacher and student in the BRAC schools is close because of the small class size and because the students stay with the same teacher for all three years. Children feel secure in the BRAC schools because the school is close to the child's home and close to the teacher's home. Some teachers give individual attention to the students on health and other matters outside the classroom.

Parent and Community Participation

BRAC entered the field of non-formal primary education in response to the demand from village poor people. As a part of its rural development work, BRAC for over 15 years has been providing functional education for adults, including conscientization, basic literacy and numeracy. In many villages, after the people became organized and active in various income-generating activities, they began to ask BRAC: "What about our children? The existing schools don't meet our children's needs." BRAC finally responded by experimenting with its first primary schools. Now the more schools BRAC opens, the more the demand grows.

All evaluations of the BRAC schools have reported that one of the most important factors in their success is community and parent involvement. Before a school opens in a village, the parents of the targeted students must demonstrate their desire for their children to go to school. They must help find or build a classroom that can be rented at minimal cost and they decide what hours of the day the classes should be held.

Each school is administered by a committee of five, made up of two parents, a community leader, the teacher and the BRAC Programme Organizer who supervises the school. Parent meetings are held monthly. Attendance is high: on the average, 80%. ince the meetings are held during the day, it is mostly mothers who are able to participate. A recent set of interviews of a random sample of parents conducted by an external evaluation team found that only 4% of the parents had never attended a parent meeting. At the meetings the parents discuss their children's progress and any school problems that may arise. Both the teachers and the supervising Programme Organizer attend these meetings and the latter must make a report on every meeting to his Field Officer supervisor.

The school committees have not remained active in some of the villages, but in such cases the parents have taken over the committee's duties, which consist primarily of setting the time for classes and vacation periods, assuring regular attendance (the goal is 100%), clearing and maintenance of the schools, and protecting school houses and furniture from theft and calamities such as floods. The school committees or parent groups also find ways to assist the teacher with special problems that may arise.

76. *The Importance of Community Involvement*

Hugh Hawes and David Stephens

Questions of Quality: Primary Education and Development. Harlow: Longman, 1990 (122-130).

When we talk, as the African ministers talked in 1976 and 1982, of bringing schools closer to the community, we, like they, are not thinking of the non-formal, traditional sector where for decades tens of thousands of schools, many attached to mosques, have been much more intimately involved than their counterparts in Europe. We are concerned instead, with an alien, transplanted immigrant institution grafted onto an indigenous community and from its inception deliberately kept separate from the day-to-day activities of the surrounding society.

Whereas the traditional, non-formal mosque or 'bush' school had as its *raison d'être* the socialisation of young men and women into useful members of the immediate community, the modern, so-called 'western-style' school is characterised by a different set of values and functions:

- education is youth and future-oriented with emphasis upon preparation for some further stage after schooling;
- knowledge, in the form of the curriculum, is prescribed and selected to fit the wider rather than local society;
- learning, with its emphasis upon literacy, has become a vicarious experience moving away from the 'observing and doing' of traditional schools;
- training for a vocation remains important though it is gradually becoming generalised and related to work needing literacy and numeracy rather than practical skills;
- the process of learning has taken on a discriminatory characteristic with the more talented being labelled and identified via mechanisms of examination and certification;
- schooling is modern-sector oriented with a view to preparing children for work in the national rather than local community;

- control over education has passed from the hands of locally elected leaders to those in the central bureaucracy charged with 'directing' national education;
- the attitude to what constituted legitimate knowledge has changed with education being seen as an important *agent of change*, consciously setting a distance between the child and his local culture. In such a way it was understood that a school graduate might lead his community to better things by possessing knowledge and skills acquired from without.

Western-style schooling was, therefore, established with anything but the community in mind. Rather, the activities of the school tended naturally to be focused beyond and outside the local community and its tendency was to divorce the child from community and culture. The building of schools apart from the community, the use of boarding facilities, and the propensity of teaching in an alien non-community language, reinforced the idea that formal schooling was not, and should not be, a communal activity. It is against this background that we must examine calls for making schools more 'relevant to the locality'. Ironically, it is often the parents and pupils who are most adverse to changing the basic orientation of schooling. However, having said this, there is still a good case for inching schools towards a more community-oriented role if only on the grounds of relevance and efficiency. This process could well involve some fairly fundamental changes in:

Patterns of organisation and decision making	towards	more local commitment and responsibility
Nature and type of programming and enrolments	towards	more varied and flexible times and flow of pupils
The curriculum, including methodology	towards	more experience-based and practical study
The role of the teachers	towards	acting less as pedagogues and more as *animateurs*
The use of buildings and land	towards	more community use
Patterns of financial provision and control	towards	greater local investment and accountability

All these will be examined later but we should note how far and how fast such changes are made and, indeed, whether they are made at all depends initially on the community's opinion of what constitutes the best use of a school and hence their interpretation of the terms 'relevance' and 'efficiency'.

If quality primary education is defined solely as making the best academic use of the school and its resources in order to 'get results', then the community orientation of that school will be limited to that end. It can easily be argued that children learn best when their learning is related to their own direct experience and their 'needs now'. Hence such relevant content may well be encouraged in academic subjects provided it contributes towards raising academic standards, but in most other respects the school and its teachers will retain their traditional roles separate and apart from the community.

If, on the other hand, 'more relevant' and 'more efficient' use of schools is interpreted to mean more flexible use of resources, i.e. teachers and buildings, with the establishment for example of 'multipurpose skill centres' for school and community use, we might see some of these changes made ... [O]ne of the most striking features of school systems in Africa is their apparent under-use by anyone other than full-time students.

The movement towards community financing of education is another area that is beginning to be taken seriously in places like Kenya. We shall discuss this later in some detail.

Before considering strategies for moving schools closer to the community, let us briefly examine the relationship from the other perspective:

The Community and the School

Community development has become widely associated with such issues as political empowerment of local communities, co-ordination of social services, economic development, citizen participation, continuing adult education and the extended use of institutions, such as schools, for these purposes.

If we take two of these areas: involvement by the community in the economic development of the school and community participation in school curriculum issues we gain a clearer idea of the complexities involved.

Economic Development of Schools

The table below indicates different forms of support for primary schools rendered by members of a community; in this case those residing in the anglophone provinces of Cameroon.

Table 1 - Contributions by the communities for the repair and maintenance of primary schools

Type of Expenditure	Primary Schools	
	No.	%
Cash resources	59	75
Work by community members	54	68
Building materials (modern)	20	25
Local materials (building, timber, roofing, etc.	15	19
School furniture	4	5
Others	7	9

Source: Bude, U., *Primary Schools, Local Community and Development in Africa*, DSE, 1985

Economically, at least, the quality of the physical resources of schools seems greatly determined by what the community can offer. The official instrument of community participation in these schools is the parent-teacher association: a body with often very hazily-defined roles and responsibilities. Raising cash, as we shall see later when discussing community financing of education on Kenya, and providing manual labour is acceptable it seems, not only because it is desperately needed, but because it is politically and educationally 'neutral', having little to do with how the school is actually run.

Could communities, therefore, move from a position of providing not only bricks and mortar but involvement in the curricular life of the school?

Community and Curriculum

There are at least three areas in which the relationship of the community to the school curriculum seems obvious. In the first place, as already noted, the community needs to serve as a source of direct experience; as a laboratory where children can practice basic skills and develop key concepts in language, mathematics, science and social studies.

In the second place, the cultural curriculum needs to be community-oriented. Few would argue, for instance, that local songs, dances, crafts, customs and traditions should not form part of the learning planned and provided for children at school.

Finally, the community needs to be involved in the productive and economic aspects of the curriculum.

> Villagers who are skilled in craftwork may help children to learn crafts; priests may help children learn about hygiene; agriculturalists may help children learn about crops and animals; and store owners may help children learn about commerce.

The advantages of such involvement are observable in Kenya where the new 8 : 4 : 4 system calls for the eighth year of the primary cycle (and for many the terminal year of schooling) to be devoted to acquiring technical and vocational skills, the kind possessed by local craftsmen and women.

The previously cited research in Cameroon raised a number of complexities and problems in involving community members in this way, notably that with limited resources all round, i.e. in community and the school, a 'trade-off' situation might need to be arranged in which teachers are trained for specific developmental tasks while community members instruct the schoolchildren in local craft, etc. The issue of remuneration for services is also problematic, as is the possible problem of hesitation by those possessing a monopoly of skills and services to pass on their knowledge to others.

Moreover, the issue of community participation raises fundamental questions over who decides what children learn, since it is likely to invite on the one hand participation of elected or delegated representation in the design and evaluation of practical school activities, and on the other for teachers of geography, science, woodwork and other subjects to take up local problems and integrate them into the learning process.

.Such activities, of course, involve balancing efforts to implement national educational policies with 'relevant local' community-oriented education. They involve those who design curriculum at central level giving over some of their power to control what schools teach and hence learning to cope with the untidiness of alternatives. Equally, thus it could potentially lead to a situation where schooling becomes manipulated to serve the interests of particular groups and therefore be to the unfair advantage of the richer and more enlightened members of the respective communities.

When discussing the community's involvement in schooling it is easy to generalise and overlook the fact that each school student is a member of both a nuclear and extended family (some being large enough to be described as 'communities' in their own right) and as such is a natural conduit for community involvement in the school, even if it is only through the age-old support of children's learning at home.

This raises the important issue of corporate versus individualistic orientation of both school and community. Schooling in western capitalist nations mirrors the belief that human dignity and progress depends very much upon inalienable individual rights, suggesting that communities exist primarily to serve individual interest. Translated into the educational arena we see the legitimisation of this through the highly competitive nature of the examination system. Helping repair a school roof or contribute to a fund to acquire equipment for the whole school can be viewed as less important than assisting in the progress of one child through the school.

If, on the other hand, development and dignity are seen as deriving from relationships among people forged through collective associations working together, for example, to achieve better school provision for a disadvantaged group or a fairer examination system, we have a far richer climate for the nurturing of school-community relations.

Community and School: Strategies for Improvement

It is easy to criticise schools for not playing a greater part in community development. But if we consider the purposes for which western style schools were established (and we have listed some of these characteristics earlier) we can appreciate the difficulties they face in adapting to new roles and expectations, particularly of those new functions which are at odds with their established *raison d'être*.

Yet educational institutions have made efforts through innovation and reform to move away from their founding image and towards a more community-oriented role. We will now examine three such innovations:

The first such innovation is the revival of interest in the *community school*. The introduction of maternity and child-care centres to schools in the Philippines in the 1950s; the attachment of small *shambas* (gardens) to schools in East Africa in the 1960s; the 'continuation' school approach introduced into selected Ghanaian middle schools from 1969, in which pupils spend one day a week doing practical work; and the concern expressed at the Lagos and Colombo Conferences of 1976 and 1978 respectively, for increased 'community relevance' of the primary school curriculum, illustrate the interest.

In theory, depending on the proportion of the curriculum changed, then the 'community school' becomes the interface between formal, western-style schooling, traditional learning and non-formal education.

In practice such reforms can be criticised on a number of levels. For one critic, the concept of the 'community school' reminds him of Philip Foster's famous 'vocational school fallacy', in which

> some would-be reformers seek to change education to make it more relevant to poverty-stricken communities. But what often happens is that the people either reject these institutions (which effectively condemn them to remain at the bottom of the political and economic structure), or the community schools eventually mutate into conventional institutions.

Thompson also warns of problems of uneven curricula development, particularly in countries with traditionally centralised education systems; the difficulties in avoiding discriminatory practices; and the headaches that would come in trying to evaluate and assess such practical, locally-oriented learning for examination purposes.

These problems might be overcome if schools become more flexible in their organisation and purpose and shifted somewhat towards a role as community training centre. This might involve *some* continuous assessment in some subjects; the employment of *some* local craftsmen to help with the teaching of vocational areas of the curriculum; the participation by members of the community in the management and decision-making processes of the school; the use of the school building for the learning needs of the adult community (literacy, health care, etc.); the use of teachers and children to *some* extent in outreach activities such as community health campaigns; the linking of the school with the world of work. All of these are *some* of the measures which, without an excessive amount of change, may prove acceptable to the community, and thereby be sure of a degree of success.

If relevance, efficiency, and something more are yardsticks by which we measure quality, the need for *flexibility* and *balance* (between academic and community-oriented curricula for example) seem to follow close behind.

What we are suggesting, therefore, is that schools attempt a number of reforms, some short-term, others long-term, some concerned with the curriculum offered to *all* children, others concerning particular programmes offered to a particular target group, for example illiterate adults.

If we look at the curriculum offered to *all* children (and thereby avoid the trap of segregating 'non-academic' children into second-class 'community schools') and apply the principle of balance and relevance, we might in the short-term make efforts to relate both academic and vocational subjects to community life, for example push to introduce local history into the examination syllabus; orientate mathematics to solving 'real' problems in, for instance, health or agriculture; and in the long term, look to producing a more flexible curriculum related to the individual and group needs of children So often, in so many primary schools, *all* children are taught *all* things with the result that little account is taken of special needs, mixed abilities or likely future careers. Developing separate institutions to cater for such needs and differences only exacerbates the problem and leads us back to Foster's "fallacy".

However, the success of such changes will only be realised when teachers are trained, encouraged and supported to make such changes, then to integrate those changes into their classroom behaviour. The role of the 'people trainers' and 'content choosers' is to build into the fabric of schooling and teacher education opportunities where pupils and teachers can develop 'room for manoeuvre'.

Initially there may be a price to pay in terms of changing strategies and exploring possibilities; in the long term the learning taking place may in fact be more efficient because it is more relevant to a variety of needs and therefore results in less 'wastage' and less repetition.

There is equally an argument, if the concept of 'community school' is to grow into something more than just a pilot project, for teacher trainers, teachers and curriculum developers to be prepared to develop a working relationship with community members. If we want to involve craftsmen and -women in the teaching of, say, science and environmental studies, these impromptu-teachers will need support and assistance from both teacher and trainer.

This brings us to our second innovation, a move towards teachers, and to a certain extent pupils themselves, becoming *animateurs* and instructors in the service of community development.

A viable way forward may be to focus attention on particular target groups that a school may be able to assist. To do this it may be more effective to identify the skills and qualities a teacher already possesses and then attempt to apply them to community development projects requiring those particular competencies. Many teachers do already, outside their school life, spend a great deal of time acting as secretaries to rural communities, assisting with the mobilisation and organisation of self-help groups, or acting as an official in a religious organisation. More recently the role of teachers as agents to spread preventative health messages in campaigns to promote immunisation, better sanitation or safety practices has also been developed, often successfully, by UNICEF and WHO.

One suspects that the problem arises when parents, in particular, feel that by taking on additional activities designed to serve the wider community, the schooling (and especially academic schooling) of their children will suffer.

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to examine the issue further but if a decision is taken to extend the role of the teacher into that of *animateur* then a number of issues need addressing, among them: to what extent is the teacher trained and supported for this role; to what extent is the focus of that activity effectively exploiting existing competencies (rather than developing new ones); and to what extent is one role being developed at the expense of another? Decisions of this kind, as we discussed in Chapter Two, lie at the baseline of any programme to improve the quality of what the teacher does, be it inside or outside the classroom.

A third innovation is the growing interest in schools becoming *self-financing production units*. On 20 July 1975, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia announced that with immediate effect, all education institutions would become production units. In Somalia, Guinea and Sudan, where, as in other parts of the world, school students board at the school, interest has been shown in raising capital to offset the large costs involved in feeding and lodging students and staff.

There seem to be two types of possibility here: one in which the school produces a commodity, e.g. rice or livestock, and then sells that on the open market; two, the production of services rendered by the school to the community in return for payment, e.g. harvesting, transportation of goods, soil cultivation, etc.

Much will depend on the size of the school, its location, the level of infrastructural development of local community, and the traditions and customs concerning the commissioning of specific community tasks to specific groups. We seem, once again, to be looking to our criteria of quality for guidance.

If we can marry academic study with such productive work, in agriculture for example, by learning the complete process from tilling the soil to negotiating a price, then it would seem both relevant and efficient work, provided that children were mature enough to understand what they were doing. If, on the other hand, such schemes though economically attractive, were simply diverting pupils' attention from study to becoming a pool of cheap labour and from education to simply training, then we would be in danger of losing a sense of balance and distorting the principles that differentiate education from labour.

77. *The Content of Basic Education in a Nomadic Context (Somalia)*

Hassan D. Qalib

"The Content of Basic Education in a Nomadic Context", in UNICEF/UNESCO Cooperative Programme for Nomads, *Report of a Seminar Held in Mogadishu, Somalia, 1-9 April, 1978.* Nairobi: UNICEF, (69-74).

The education of the nomads is not as simple an issue as might first appear. Several basic issues must be resolved before any meaningful programme can be launched. These include, among other things, a comprehensive study of the socio-economic condition of the nomads; identification of the existing basic services whether locally disposed or extended by governmental agencies; and the main channels through which any educational programme can be delivered. The most important, however, will be the determination of the educational programme content and it is to this question that this paper will address itself.

Indigenous Education

Education is a system of passing on skills and knowledge. This is done through the delivery systems categorized in the educational nomenclature as formal, non-formal and informal. The last is the oldest system which still plays a significant role particularly in societies where facilities for the other systems are underdeveloped. In nomadic Somalia the education passed through this age-old process to the younger generation deserves to be mentioned before discussing any novel content for the education of the nomads.

Religious Education and the Quranic Schools

Somalia is a nation of 100 per cent muslims. Every family considers it an obligation to teach its youngsters the verses of the Quran and the accompanying Islamic teachings. Among the nomads this is given great emphasis, and is often considered the best education that a nomad father can provide for his son.

Each nomad hamlet (which usually consists of about ten families) has its own Quranic teacher. This person, who is generally a male adult, usually depends on the other members of the hamlet for support. In some cases he keeps his own stock and is self-supporting. Besides teaching the youngsters he performs other essential social and religious duties such as ordaining marriage contracts, heading religious ceremonies and funeral services, mediating disputes between parties, and so on.

Some of the children who complete learning of the Quran go on to further religious studies in the towns or in a settled locality where learning conditions are more conducive and a great sheikh is available.

However for the great majority their studies terminate there. No titles, diplomas or rewards are conferred upon those who graduate from these centres of learning; rather they are instructed that it is a sacred duty that each of them should spread the word of God without seeking worldly profit or personal gain. With the exception of a few communities, Quranic learning is not generally considered a vocation for girls. Timewise, it is a luxury that a nomad family just cannot afford.

Catering for Animals

Livestock rearing is the main occupation and economic source of the nomads, and they have age-old experience on how best to cater for their stock within the limits of their knowledge. The younger generation acquires this experience in an informal and practical manner. It includes pioneering for the best grazing lands, planning watering intervals of the animals and nursing the diseased ones. The latter is often the speciality of a medicine man who knows which herbs cure the various diseases of the animals. It is a vocation which is very much surrounded with all sorts of superstitions and mystery. A son often learns at least some skills, pertaining to this, from his father, even though he may not become a professional himself later on.

Household Activities

A nomad girl follows in the steps of her mother and learns the craft of homestead (*aqal*) making and related activities.

Making and maintenance of the homestead is solely the responsibility of women. Besides that a girl must learn to prepare herself for all sorts of responsibilities concerning her relationships with her immediate family members as well as those of the extended family.

Folk Culture

The Somalis are often termed a nation of poets because of the lively folk literature which thrives in the nomadic environment. A nomad's life is often rough and tough and the only consolation he has to fight the long lonely hours of journeying the animals to watering places or moving them from one grazing bush to another, is his imagination. In his loneliness he composes poems about his animals, his surroundings, about life and his lot; and sometimes even about his beloved who is somewhere in some faraway nomadic camp. During the rainy season when the daily chores of the nomads are easier and enough leisure time is available, young people often meet at campfires or at wedding festivities (which are common at this time) and engage themselves in a variety of cultural activities. These include folk-dances and songs, folktales, and competition in reciting poetry. The contest in the latter is so interesting and challenging that it is a must for a nomad lad to either learn to compose poems himself or collect those composed by others.

Politics

Nomads manage their affairs in a very democratic manner. Every issue that concerns their lives, whether a mediation between two parties in a dispute or deciding on where and when to move the hamlet, is resolved by the rule of the majority. On any of these occasions male elders of the hamlet or groups of hamlets meet to work out a decision. A long discussion in which oration and the techniques of speech-making are very much appreciated takes place. Speakers support their arguments with a rich supply of proverbs and references to past events. The youngsters often sit behind the circular line of elders and listen. Usually they have no speaking rights but their presence is obligatory with the intention of schooling them in the art of leadership. In these forums they acquire the necessary knowledge about the history of the community and the art of becoming future leaders. Moreover this is the best opportunity to acquaint them with the basic values and attitudes in decision-making and managing community affairs.

The Content of Basic Education in a Nomad Context

From the brief discussion above, it is clear how a nomad community provides its members with the essential tools with which to survive in that tough environment. Moreover, indigenous knowledge and skills acquired through the ages give a logical order and cohesion to the life of the nomads. This observation, therefore, should be a warning that any novel educational programme intended for the nomads must fit this order and complement it.

The Programme Content

The programme content of basic education for nomads could consist of the following relevant subjects: literacy, animal husbandry, range conservation, processing animal products, marketing livestock, wildlife, health and hygiene, crops, civil education.

Literacy

This is the basis for any educational programme for nomads. However, literacy alone is insufficient, for as has been already proven, there is always a danger of relapse. Right from the beginning literacy instruction must be functional as well as practical in nature. This could be facilitated especially in numeracy classes where the instructional material could be based on the immediate environment. The content of the literacy material at the beginning could also include some civil education. The intention here is to increase general knowledge as well as to inculcate attitudinal changes.

Animal Husbandry

Information could be imparted on how to diagnose common diseases and what measures to take. This could include simple treatment techniques such as establishing doses, preparing or mixing drugs for use, giving injections. It would also cover the control of insects harmful to livestock; preventing the spread of various types of diseases; treating fractures; birthing and how to procure and secure food requirements of different animals. This includes fodder production and preservation.

Range Conservation

This is a very important component of the nomad education and if the desired effect is achieved it could bring about a revolution in the countryside. Besides the benefit that the individual nomad would get, he could also be made aware of the much larger gain for the society as a whole, if he himself takes the necessary steps.

He will learn about soil-erosion, its causes (wind and water) and prevention. What is overgrazing and what are its effects and why? Trees and their uses and how to plant them; why have range reserves, grazing improvement and management.

Processing Animal Products

Much of what the nomad gets from his animals is often lost due to his lack of proper knowledge on how best to handle or preserve the products. It is true that he knows of several basic methods on how to make the best use of his animals; however this is both insufficient and inefficient.

In this connection, therefore, emphasis will be put on:

1. Better ways of skinning animals and drying the skin;
2. Tanning skins and hides by using local materials;
3. Cheese and dry-milk making.

The last area is particularly significant for the Somali nomads because in the rainy season when milk is abundant and is more than the nomads can consume, or when they are far away from urban centres where they might sell the raw milk, it often happens that milk is thrown away. In the dry season the situation is the opposite where due to its short supply this protein component of the nomad's diet becomes severely limited.

Marketing Animals

The Somali nomad keeps a stock for the purpose of his livelihood. Although this is the primary aim, prestige is often associated with stock ownership. This contributes to overstocking with its attendant adverse repercussions on the environment.

Relevant information could therefore be given in such areas as:

1. The market-oriented economic importance of the stock;
2. The objective of raising livestock, i.e. not for prestige but for ownership only;
3. The best way to utilize livestock wealth, including how best and when best to market livestock;
4. Information on livestock marketing systems and procedures.

Wildlife

The importance of wildlife in the dry season is never lost to a nomad. For him it is a source of food in hard times. However, he has no other interest in its many other benefits. In this connection it is also worthwhile to educate the nomad on the practical uses of wildlife.

Crop Raising

Even though a nomad's mode of life entails movement regulated by the availability of water and pasture for his animals, it is not totally unsuited for varying it with some form of crop-raising. Particularly during the rainy season, enough time is available to cultivate small plots and raise a few subsistence crops.

Instructions on this will provide the necessary attitudinal change which will help to supplement their diet with the subsistence crops raised. The following could be included as basis for instructions:

1. Selection of fertile soil site;
2. Process of clearing and tilling;
3. The application of basic tilling implements, training, sowing, weeding and harvesting.

Health and Hygiene

This could be confined to elementary basic health and hygiene requirements. It will include:

1. Diseases and their causes;
2. Common diseases in Somalia and the possible measures to take to check their spreading;
3. Harmful insects and the diseases they carry: mosquitoes, flies, etc.;
4. How to combat these insects;
5. The importance of safe water;
6. How to purify contaminated water;
7. Disposal of waste and excrements;
8. How to prevent contamination of milk;
9. Body, home and community cleanliness;
10. First aid.

Content-wise the subject matter seems very suitable and relevant to the education of nomads. However several factors must be taken into account. For one thing the nomads should be made aware that this is intended for helping improve the quality of their lives. Secondly, it should be delivered through suitable channels and processes so that the nomad's full participation is ensured. Unless this is done, the whole programme of education for nomads could be futile and self-defeating.

CASE STUDIES

Experimental Approaches

This section gives some brief glimpses of recent innovative approaches: using mass media as a basic education tool, combining learning and labouring in a single project, trying to meet the special needs of child prostitutes, enhancing children's income-generating skills, and engaging in action research as part of project planning.

78. *The Radio-assisted Community Basic Education Project in the Dominican Republic*

Mary B. Anderson

Education for All: What Are We Waiting For?. New York: UNICEF, 1992 (85-91).

On January 24, 1983, the Radio-Assisted Community Basic Education (RADECO)[1] project went on the air, broadcasting for one hour each day to school-aged children gathered in open-air "learning centres" in remote communities of Barahona Province, Dominican Republic.

RADECO used radio to bring children together, in a time and place that suited them, with teachers whose minimal skills could be supplemented by the radio instruction.

Though school attendance rates are quite high for the Dominican Republic as a whole, the *children* in Barahona did not go to school before January 1983. In this remote province the population was highly dispersed, and the government could not afford to build enough schools to locate them near every child's home. Literacy rates among adults were low, so parents had neither a strong educational tradition nor familiarity with schooling. The area was poor, and children were required to work for their families to survive. They laboured long hours in the local coffee and sugar-cane plantations or in odd jobs in the few nearby towns. The fact that families lived in such economic hardship also meant that, even if they could spare the work of children, they could not afford to pay school fees, the costs of paper, pens or other school supplies, or even provide clean clothes for the children to wear to school every day.

To find out about the children they wanted to reach, RADECO hired four outreach supervisors to visit potential project sites and to talk with local communities. Once the RADECO programmes began, these supervisors continued to serve as a link between the field and the radio production centres. They also supervised local "radioauxiliaires", individuals from the communities who were selected to be in charge of the radio classes.

In the beginning days of the RADECO innovation, there was vigorous discussion about who these supervisors should be. Some felt that they should be experienced and qualified educators. Others believed that the task of outreach to remote communities was so important that the skills of community development social workers were more important than those of the educators. The criteria for selection combined elements of both, and individuals were hired who had some prior knowledge of radio education, experience with rural communities and familiarity with data collection techniques.

The job was a challenging one. Outreach supervisors had to travel into areas that were difficult to reach and collect information that was difficult to find. For example, many local communities in Barahona were so small that they had no real governance structures, yet these travelling supervisors had to find local leadership and enlist their support for the upcoming project. Also, though they sought detailed information about all the children, they found that families often did not know exactly how old their children were and had no records about births. The supervisors gathered extensive information about local economic activities and the jobs done by children. They also needed to understand crop cycles and seasons so that they could anticipate when children were most likely to be absent from school.

Supervisors were able to identify 23 communities for Phase I of the experiment (1983) and another 25 for Phase II (1984). The selected areas were all within one day's travel from the provincial capital, though sometimes it was a hard day, involving motorcycle travel plus hours of walking on rural tracks. Access to the city was deemed important for ongoing supervision, support and evaluation of the project. Populations ranged from only 120 people in some communities to over 2,000 in others. All were dependent on agriculture and all were poor; most community members were day labourers.

Community interest in education for their children was a basic criterion for selection. The project required that communities demonstrate their support by forming an association of parents and "friends" of the programme who assumed responsibility for providing a shelter where the classes could occur (most often getting parents involved in building it themselves) and nominating a local person to become the radioauxiliary for the classes. The associations also maintained the shelters and assisted the radioauxiliaries as the project continued. They usually included about 10 local people.

While some communities developed strong Parents and Friends Associations, others found the idea strange and the requirement for their involvement too time consuming. It also became clear that providing a school shelter was too costly for some parents. While rural communities could gather poles and thatch and put up a suitable building with their own labour, groups in slightly more urban areas had to purchase all the materials and, sometimes, hire builders. The RADECO administration had to be flexible. They dropped the insistence on an active local committee and, in areas where construction costs were high, they agreed to use any existing building that parents could find.

The *teachers*, or radioauxiliaries, were local people nominated by the communities. The required qualifications were basic literacy skills and an interest in children. Originally, the project design called for communities to find volunteers to serve in this role. It rapidly became clear that long-term volunteer service was not really possible among people whose livelihoods were so insecure. Again, adapting to this finding, the project decided to pay a small stipend to the auxiliaries.

The auxiliaries' job was to ensure that children came to the shelters and participated in the radio instruction sessions. They were in charge of the radio's functioning; they managed the worksheets used to supplement the broadcasts; and they helped children who had special problems.

Training for this job was minimal. Auxiliaries were brought to Barahona for a two-and-a-half-day workshop before the broadcasts began and taught how to operate the radio, how to organize their classes, how to use daily teachers' notes supplied by the programme and how to help children with difficulties. After initial training, they were visited regularly by the field supervisors, and occasionally, small groups were given additional training in the field.

Daily notes provided the auxiliaries with an orientation to each day's topics and the sequence of teaching. These guides also advised teachers on which worksheets would be used and on the information they should write on the blackboard in preparation for the day's lessons, and they gave suggestions for activities for the children after the broadcast.

The *administration* for RADECO was located in the Dominican Secretariat of Education, Fine Arts and Religion (SEEBAC), the agency responsible for authorizing and supervising all primary and secondary education programmes. A five-year grant from donors and external technical assistance provided the initial support for RADECO's development. The external project management worked closely with SEEBAC.

SEEBAC supplied most of the local project staff who, from its beginning, were intended to take over the full running of the RADECO in later years. Local staff were hired and trained in lesson planning, script writing, studio production, community development skills, classroom observation, and test design and administration. By 1986, there were sixty people on RADECO's staff.

Project management was responsible for identifying and gaining cooperation from communities where the RADECO programme would operate; selecting, training, supervising and paying the radio auxiliaries; supplying basic equipment and materials to the schools; and adapting the Dominican Republic primary school curriculum for use in this remote area of the country.

The *basic curriculum* was that used in all government primary schools. The task for RADECO was to "translate" this into interactive radio segments that were relevant and interesting to the children of Barahona.

The basic principles of RADECO were the same as those of other interactive radio programmes. The first was that the children learn when they are actively involved, and the second was that effective curricula provide sequenced, step-by-step lessons that successively build up knowledge and comprehension.

In addition, the staff of RADECO was committed to moulding the standard curriculum to fit the needs, interests and problems of their particular target audience. In order to reach the children of Barahona, all the subject matter and content of the usual curriculum had to be covered in much less time each day than was expected in traditional schools. Also, because of the children's work responsibilities, the only time that classes could be held was at the very end of the day. Lessons had to be short and engaging.

The RADECO project developed a one-hour-a-day instructional programme for four grade levels, or a total of 680 hour-long lessons (170 days a year). About 30 minutes of the hour were focused on mathematics. The major portion of the remaining half hour was spent on reading and writing, and five to ten minutes daily were devoted to social studies, natural science and/or civics. Songs, stories, poems and physical exercises were included in each day's lessons to keep children's attention and to generate active involvement. These extra stimulations were especially important in RADECO because the children arrived at their classes already tired.

A team of seven script-writers, four working on language and three on mathematics instruction, developed the RADECO lessons. They worked together on the other subjects. In a half-hour segment of a radio session, there were typically over 100 pauses for children's responses and activities. Throughout the development of the lessons, their effectiveness was observed in the field and any problems that emerged were corrected.

The Radio Personalities

RADECO needed to find actors to play the roles in the lesson scripts. However, there were not many professional actors available in Barahona so, in the initial stages of the project, they relied on amateurs and local residents who were interested in radiocommunication. These non-professionals had some real problems; they made mistakes in reading or grammar, their diction was sometimes unclear, or they used regional dialects.

The project ran two-day workshops to help the actors improve their performance, but they really got engaged and worked to improve their presentations after visiting some of the schools and observing the children's interest. They saw how well IRI (Interactive Radio Instruction) worked and identified ways they could do a better job. For example, they worked to develop character interpretations which would help the children to be able to distinguish among the various voices they heard each day.

Results

RADECO reached previously unreached children with a basic primary school curriculum. By 1989 the original 20 schools had expanded to over 60 schools with over 80 classrooms. Parents, community leaders and children were enthusiastic.

In addition, children seemed to be learning a lot. One study, which compared the RADECO students to those from traditional schools, found that RADECO children responded correctly to the test questions that were asked 51% of the time while the other children answered correctly, on average, only 24% of the time. RADECO children had a real advantage in mathematics. In their language arts, their results were about comparable to those of children in other schools. Overall, RADECO planners were pleased to see that the disadvantaged children in Barahona Province were able to cover and master the four-year primary school curriculum through interacting for one hour a day with radio lessons with the guidance of only a minimally trained teacher. The educational disadvantage these children had faced relative to other children in the Dominican Republic was being overcome.

In 1986, SEEBAC established a Department of Radio Education within the Educational Media Division. The intent was to expand the RADECO model to other children in the Dominican Republic who remain unreached by traditional schools including, on a pilot basis, a special effort to reach children in the poorest neighbourhoods of Santo Domingo.

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[1] Information derived from Agency for International Development, "Interactive Radio Instruction: Confronting Crisis in Basic Education", *A.I.D. Science and Technology in Development Series*, Washington, D.C., 1990, and from Eshgh, R., Hoxeng, J., Provenzano, J. and Casals, B. (eds), *Radio-Assisted Community Basic Education (RADECO)*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1988.

79. *An Indian Experiment in Learning while Earning*

R.P. Singh

"An Indian Experiment in Learning While Earning", *Prospects*, XII (4), 1982, UNESCO, (495-8).

Several committees and commissions in India have stressed the need for vocationalizing education, and have also pointed out the fact that massive efforts are required for making the universal literacy programme a viable proposition. Time and again innovations have been tried — for example, the Bolpur experiment by Rabindra Nath Tagore, and Gandhi's 'Basic Education' scheme — but, for reasons not adequately researched, have not proved a success. The problem with all these experiments has been that they could not be replicated on a large scale. An attempt was once made to introduce basic education throughout the country, and the result was chaos. There was widespread public criticism, although the major deficiency lay in the nature of the scheme itself. Since time immemorial Indian society has been divided into three unbridgeable classes and Gandhi's scheme became identified with education for the poorer section of society. The result was a foregone conclusion: the middle and upper classes rejected the scheme, and as the middle class was made responsible for its propagation it reduced it, the critics allege, to a farce. Dr. Zakir Husain, one of the principal architects of Basic Education, was so shocked at its inadequate implementation that he declared on the floor of Parliament that 'Basic Education was a hoax perpetrated on the nation'.

It is necessary here to appreciate the radical departure from the existing English education that the Gandhian scheme represented. For example, Gandhian education was craft-centred and was oriented to social needs. Gandhi had assumed that the 'alien' government would not finance any education for the masses, and that therefore a parallel system had to be evolved which not only suited the people in general but was also self-supporting. Therefore Gandhi had to evolve a system that was independent of government control and supervision. It surprised no one except the diehards that his idea failed to come to fruition under government support in a free India, because the nation had changed its goal from one of a self-supporting, quiet village life to one of an industrialized nation on the Western pattern. The scheme of basic education as envisaged by Gandhi could hardly match these demands.

The Madhya Pradesh experiment is a total innovation within a Gandhian framework. It has as its basis craft, whereby the poor can both earn and learn. It may be recalled here that a vast majority of Indians are too poor to value education for itself; overcoming hunger is the basic requirement. Consequently, the present innovation meets both their primary and their educational needs. Universal education seems far away, so against this background the Madhya Pradesh experiment has the blessing of all sections of society.

The Framework

The value of the experiment lies in the fact that it has been planned and executed on the basis of actual needs. Madhya Pradesh is one of the poorer states and its rate of literacy (28.72 per cent in 1981) is also lower than the national average (40 per cent). The state shares with Orissa and Assam the distinction of having a high percentage of aborigines in the population. Its blessings include a vast land area, a low concentration of population, a mild climate and the existence of forests and minerals. Potentially Madhya Pradesh is a rich state.

The decision to introduce a 'learn-and-earn' programme was taken by an enlightened bureaucracy. They took into account the handicaps Gandhi's scheme suffered from. The first problems that they attempted to resolve were: (a) lack of finance to support a vocationalization programme, particularly for the purchase of material and the payment of stipends to students for their work; (b) lack of outlets for the sale of finished goods; and (c) a shortage of motivated staff. They were quite hopeful that in the economically weaker sections of society they would be able to generate both meaningful motivation and the resources to finance universal primary education.

The Department of Education decided to select two types of centres for the experiment: (a) the basic teachers' colleges, which had been running on Gandhian lines and which were given the name training-cum-production centres (TCPCs); and (b) production centres located in the existing primary and secondary schools. With this decision the department was able to utilize the existing buildings and several other ancillary materials.

The other decision related to the production of material. We all know that hand-made goods lack the finish of machine-made ones; therefore the goods to be produced at these centres would not be able to compete with those that machines turn out. The decision therefore was to select only those items that even children can prepare with minimal training and also those for which a need exists. The department needs plenty of sticks of chalk, as well as jute mats, called *tat-pattis*, for sitting on the bare floors. (The department does not have enough chairs and tables — the most inexpensive arrangement for sitting is that of the *tat-pattis*.)

The advantages of these decisions are:

- The department does not have to look for a market because it is both the supplier and the consumer.
- The state has sufficient numbers of teachers who could both supervise and train students in this production.
- Looms made of wood are easier to handle than other kinds and inexpensive to maintain.
- Children can easily learn how to produce *tat-pattis* and sticks of chalk.
- As there is no fixed time for work, children can do it at their convenience. Children work mostly during their free time, which means when they are not engaged in family chores.
- Production of goods means a monetary incentive, but this incentive is linked with learning. Unless a child learns, he is not given work and therefore he cannot earn. It is an important pre-condition.

Step by Step Development

In 1978, on 2 October, Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, the department launched its scheme in collaboration with the Khadi Gramodyoga (a village industry project). The production centres numbered six in the initial stage and they were located in multipurpose secondary schools. The department offered to buy *tat-pattis* worth 1.5 million rupees. For this purpose it had advanced 2.5 million rupees to the Khadi Gramodyoga. In the first stage 613 *tat-pattis* and 215 chalk-stick boxes were produced. It may be noted that the department was quite unwilling to buy finished goods unless they matched in quality goods already available on the market at competitive prices. On 'quality' and 'pricing', at least, the financial section of the department was not ready for compromises.

During the second stage, as the project picked up momentum, the number of centres was raised to 101. The department offered in-service training to its teachers in supervising and instructing students in this work. The basic teachers' colleges, which already had faculty qualified to supervise and train instructors, were assigned this duty by the department. In short, the department roped in all teachers and centres that had the ability and competence to take care of this kind of work. Fifty-four girls' institutions were given the job of preparing sticks of chalk and the boys were asked to prepare *tat-pattis*. It is interesting that the work distribution also took account of sex differences, and of the availability of men and material. This is one reason why preparation of sealing wax was assigned to those centres where raw material for the sealing wax was available in plenty, that is in the forests.

In the third stage, in January 1980, preparation of sealing wax in the tribal areas of Madhya Pradesh was added to the programme.

In the fourth stage, to achieve universalization of elementary education, a strain of non-formal education was woven into the scheme. Nineteen centres were opened specifically for underprivileged children.

In the fifth stage, there are plans for the introduction of furniture-making or woodcraft in the areas where sufficient wood is available. All schools need furniture like chairs, tables and cupboards. Considering the demand, and also the fact that Madhya Pradesh has vast tracts of forest land, the addition of woodcraft to the project is both viable and sound. Teachers are being trained for this purpose and the remuneration is being increased from 2.80 to 10.00 rupees per hour.

The Non-formal Dimension

We have already seen that in the fourth stage a non-formal dimension was added to the project. The idea was:

- The children in the 9-14 age-group should be covered by this scheme. These are those children who either never went to school, or if they did, dropped out soon after.
- The drop-outs were to be offered a condensed course of study: i.e. the five-year course was shortened to two years.
- To provide education at a time which suited both drop-outs and children who had never entered a school. In other words a fixed school timetable was considered unimportant.
- To teach with the intention of making these children opt for the regular system. When they wish they may enter regular post-primary classes. In a way this kind of education was a sort of bridging course, allowing the drop-outs and others to join the mainstream of the school system.
- To offer further courses if these children had taken the Grade 5 examination and passed.

Several special features of the Madhya Pradesh model of non-formal education have been talked about, including:

- The condensation of courses of study from five years to two.
- Arrangement of classes according to the students' choice of time and place.
- The use of existing formal schools, staff and materials.
- The fact that the teacher is quite free to vary his pace of teaching according to the requirements of the children.
- The system has no classes. Children are individually classified.
- The non-formal arrangement costs less than half as much as the formal one. Whereas in the formal system the department spends 102 rupees per child, in the non-formal one the total expenditure is about 40 rupees.

It is interesting to learn that the department has not changed the quality of courses while condensing them, but kept the same ones.

The teachers are given proper incentives. In the centres that are covered by the 'learn-and-earn' scheme teachers receive monetary incentives. In the non-formal arrangement teachers are paid for each student who passes into a formal class.

Children under the non-formal system are given free textbooks and exercise books at a cost of 25 rupees per head. The child has to learn eighteen condensed units and sit an examination in each unit. The child has the freedom to take one unit at a time or all eighteen at once after the term is over. Table 1 charts the progress of the non-formal system — a part of which is identical with the 'learn-and-earn' scheme — and shows that if the results are not very spectacular, they are at least encouraging.

It also shows that these 41,000 children would not have been covered by the formal system had there not been a scheme like the present one.

Except for the people concerned, all others were highly sceptical about the success of the scheme. They had doubts about the quality of the goods and about their marketable value. But the scheme has shown that this scepticism was unfounded.

The department is now able to earn 15 per cent profit on the capital advanced and also to sell finished goods at a competitive price. The department finds that its own needs are being met without any difficulty. The children have started coming to school because for the first time they have realized that now they do not have to work elsewhere to supplement their families' meagre incomes. Because of their high motivation school has to remain open from 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. Teachers also like remaining at school because they also can earn substantial money through supervision.

The factors of success are: (a) the scheme is self-generating; (b) the demand comes from the parents and children, as the scheme has not been imposed on them; (c) the scheme is self-sufficient; (d) both teachers and taught have gained in social esteem; (e) as students cannot earn without learning their lessons, learning also takes place and is evaluated constantly; (f) discipline is built-in.

Table 1 - Number of students in the non-formal system

	Centres		Students		Examination results			
					Sat		Passed	
Academic year	Primary	Pre-middle	Primary	Pre-middle	Primary	Pre-middle	Primary	Pre-middle
1975/76	95	NA	2306	NA	370	NA	202	NA
1976/77	146	NA	2899	NA	608	NA	56	NA
1977/78	397	NA	7000	NA	335	NA	55	NA
1978/79	597	NA	8500	NA	850	NA	442	NA
1979/80	2450	2000	29400	12000	2800	1200	1204	600
1980/81	3000	3050	35400	16000	—	—	—	—

80. *Casa de Passagem: A Programme for Girl Prostitutes in Brazil*

International Catholic Child Bureau

The Sexual Exploitation of Children: Field Responses.
Geneva: ICCB, 1991 (116-9).

"Casa de Passagem" (Passage House) provides services mainly for street girls aged 10 to 18 years old involved in prostitution, drugs and robbery. Most have suffered violence at the hands of their parents or neighbours and consequently have abandoned their families and communities to try life on their own. However, the violence continues on the street. Every day girls are exploited if not killed on the streets. When contact was made in the street with these girls, they were found to be afraid and living under great stress. They are aggressive and never rest nor sleep deeply because they never feel safe to sleep. On first contact they acted like animals, seeking food in trash cans and eating with their hands.

Project Background

Passage House was opened in May 1989 after 2 years of work on the streets. The work with street girls is organised in 5 stages: contact in the streets; the Passage House; community houses; preventive work; work training center for adolescents.

Activities

Artistic expression, drug abuse programme, health care, health education, sex education, psychological support, contact with the child's family and local community, advocacy, job placement, reintegration in the community.

1. *In the streets*: in this first stage, 2 educators are employed to make informal contacts with the girls. Their jobs are to understand the daily lives of these girls, to think with them about survival strategies, and to decide with them if they want to come to the Passage House. Outreach to 700 girls was made on the streets in the period 1988 to 1989.

2. In the *Passage House*, which is a day centre, the girls are given time to think, to have peace and rest far from the permanent stress and tension on the street. In the house people help them review their lives (work, body, culture), teach them to read and write, and encourage them to think about their responsibilities to other people and to the other girls, to learn about their rights, and to face life on their own. They are also prepared for independent living. The house is open from 8 am to 7 pm. After initial house chores in the morning, gymnastics, reading and writing, art classes and productive work are all offered throughout the day. Talks on health education and protection from AIDS are given. The girls then return to the streets to sleep.

The educational approach is flexible allowing the girls room to take initiatives themselves. The educational team is there to support them in the fight for a better life. if the girls decide not to continue on the streets and if they have no family to go to, then the project can provide a place where these girls can live (i.e., the community houses). If, however, they want to continue on the streets, they are free to do so. In 1989, 60 girls came to the Passage House. These 60 stayed for some months. Many others came on a daily basis to receive information, to talk, to get to know the house, to receive health services, etc.

3. Three *community houses* have been built in 2 poor communities where some of the girls now live and help the others who are in danger. They are made for 3 to 5 girls. For women in this region, a house means a lot. It is a very different thing to be a woman with a house as opposed to a woman on the street. When attacked these girls can be heard to say: "Don't shout at me for I have a house!". It gives them a new status. A house can help the girls to construct their inner selves. The community houses are chosen in accordance with the local community for there is still much stigma attached to a young girl who has been in prostitution. Local women leaders are chosen to explain the street girls' plight. When the community is ready to accept the girls, the plans go ahead to buy the land and construct a house. The girls have to understand their responsibilities towards their new neighbours.

4. *Preventive work*. This aspect of the work aims to reach out to girls and women (mothers, educators, leaders) in the poor areas of Recife and Olinda. Preventive work is vital for once the girls are on the streets it is much more difficult and more expensive to work with them. 250 girls have been contacted in this aspect of the work. A health programme has been developed with the girls from the communities and with street girls. These girls have devised a play which teaches people about health. They tour poor communities with this play to inform and teach people about health, living conditions, basic rights, etc. In addition, girls are trained to be multipliers of the information they have received through the various programmes.

5. *Work Training Center for Adolescents*. This stage of the program provides girls with new skills (sewing, tapestry, artcraft, painting) so that they will no longer need to depend on prostitution for economic support. The Industrial Kitchen is a place where the girls can make good quality food. In the future, it is hoped that this kitchen will become an industry run and owned by the girls.

The project leader has also written books about street girls to break taboos and has organised campaigns on behalf of street girls who are still regarded by society as being morally bad or sinners.

Funding

International private sources.

Other Resources

- Project leader, 2 street educators, social worker, psychologist;
- 3 community houses;
- Passage House (rented).

Future

Children. The following figures are for 60 girls who stayed some months in the Passage House in 1989:

- 28 girls returned to their family. These girls had generally not known violence in the home. Their mothers received a small loan to buy a sewing machine, for example, to be able to generate their own income. The girls sleep at home but come everyday to the Passage House.
- 12 girls lived in the community houses.
- 8 girls went into independent living.
- 12 girls were unsure about their future but continued to come to the Passage House. When a girl has a job or lives with her family, she usually does not return to prostitution. It is only if she desperately needs money that she will do. For most of the cases, however, once a girl returns home she will avoid prostitution and drugs. She will no longer need to sell her body for a plate of food. She will have a choice.

Project. Future efforts will aim at helping the girls to be educators in their turn. With the knowledge they have learned through the Passage House, they could become effective community agents for transmitting information on AIDS, health education, family planning, nutritious food, family life education, etc. Plans are underway to make a video about AIDS, and to begin a small food industry to enable the girls to earn their own incomes.

Project Experience

- Never think that as an educator you know everything or that you know what is best for the girls. These girls have fled from people who wanted to dominate them and they will flee again if necessary.
- Let the girls talk and just listen to them. Help them to express their feelings, anger, fears, hopes and experiences. Help them to construct their life story. Help them to find their identity and the only way you can help is by listening.
- Accept them the way they are before all else. Let them see what people and society expect from them and help them to understand the advantages of having a normal type of behaviour.
- If the girls are there, it means that they have said "no" to a lot of things in their short life. Help them to understand why they are on the streets.
- Don't expect good results in a short time and don't be frustrated if the girls seem not to care about your efforts. They need time to decide what is best for them. Sometimes they will not seem interested. The educator needs much perseverance at this stage. Little by little, things will change and the educator will begin to see results.
- Don't push the girls too much. They have their limits and after some time will not care about what you say. Go slowly!
- Be firm about your own limits and don't let them abuse you. Let them know that if they are strong then you too are strong. The girls do not respect people that are not sure about themselves and they need strong people upon whom they can rely.
- Let the girls know that they are very important in the educative process and that they can transmit information and help others. From our experience, they can generally do this very well. They can also identify new girls on the streets and bring them to us.

81. *Acquiring Skills for a Better Life*

Sheila Devaraj

"Acquiring Skills for a Better Life", *Molake*, 3 (3), July 1993, Bangalore, The Concerned for Working Children, (15-6).

A few months ago, a group of young girls who worked as domestic help in posh localities of Bangalore approached us. They came with a simple request. They wanted to learn more skills related to their work and to learn about the regulations pertaining to wages and working hours. Soon we were approached by boys who were seeking training in automobile maintenance, two wheeler repair and other kinds of garage work. A few wanted to learn screen printing and tailoring.

These youngsters were interested in acquiring skills to help themselves and better their lives. Their requests sparked off repeated discussions within the organisation. Finally it was decided that vocational skills were essential and important to the children. We felt the need to create an opportunity for them to learn new skills or upgrade their existing skills. Thus, the idea for the training programme was conceived. The training programme would constitute — Garage training or automobile maintenance, tailoring and screen printing.

After the plan was initiated, the field activists informed the children about training opportunities in their respective contact areas. The response of both the children and their parents was good.

We decided to start the training programme in a small way, since this was a new experience for us, too. We wanted to make the process as enjoyable as possible. We decided to take a maximum of eight children for each discipline.

The selection process involved children giving in their applications, which were then screened. They were selected for interviews on the basis of their needs, priorities and level of preparation. The seriousness with which the children anticipated and finally participated in the whole process was touching. The interviews were designed to better understand the needs and plans of the children. In a few cases, the children were given guidance and suggestions to help them identify priorities and possibilities. Finally, the first batch of trainees was announced. Those who did not make it to the list were promised that they would be considered first for subsequent batches.

The training programme was launched on February 1, 1993. The various training units — automobile maintenance, tailoring, screen printing — and a little library were inaugurated by trainee children. The *Bhima Sangha* flag was hoisted and the *Bhima Sangha* song was sung. The occasion reflected the spirit with which the children had arrived, both festive and earnest.

Every day of the training programme started with a session of yoga. This was followed by sessions to promote literacy and general knowledge. For the literacy class the children were divided into three groups. The first group comprised children who were totally illiterate, the second group consisted of children who could identify letters and the third group was made up of those who were already literate.

For the general awareness sessions, we first invited questions from the children. An amazing assortment of questions followed. 'Why do states fight among themselves?', 'How are hailstorms formed?' These were grouped into general sections and resource people to handle each section were identified. These sessions proved very popular among the children.

The actual vocational training sessions were scheduled for the afternoons. The curriculum for each course had been worked out in advance, including both theory and practical training. For example, children undergoing training in automobile repair and maintenance had hands-on experience at the *Bhima Sangha* Garage, very close to the *Nammane* and inaugurated along with the other training programmes, is also open to the public. The tailoring courses started with the second batch whereas screen printing and garage courses have added to the course material and so still continue with the first batch.

In addition, there were regular counselling sessions where the children could express their personal feelings freely.

The children's response throughout was very encouraging. They were bright and very keen to learn. One of the children, Shaila, even deprived herself of tea breaks to put in extra work!

The children who were already living in '*Nammane*,' the shelter for homeless working children set up jointly by CWC [The Concerned for Working Children, a Bangalore-based NGO] and APSA [an associated NGO], seemed to find the training difficult. This was probably because they were not comfortable with the fairly tight schedules maintained at the training course. Two of them left *Nammane* as they were unable to cope with the training. But the other children were constantly working and thoroughly enjoying their stay. For many of them, this was the first time in their lives that they had had time to play.

Many of the boys and girls were living and learning together for the first time. They were able to strike good friendships and also learn from each other. Amusingly, but not very surprisingly, we discovered that the boys would dress smartly and bathe every day for the simple reason that they were interacting regularly with girls who were usually neater! Some of the girls who wanted to learn cycling were also helped by the boys.

At the end of the three months, the training was completed. The children went home with a tinge of sadness. A few of them requested a few more days of training as they did not feel they had acquired sufficient skills. They continue to stay as we also thought they required additional inputs.

The girls who finished their training in tailoring were taken to garment shops which cater to factories for job placement. But to our dismay we realised that these places were very exploitative. We decided not to encourage the children to work in such places. One girl, for example, took a sub-contract, which means she has to work from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. every day. We found this contrary to our objective of helping the children find better alternatives through vocational training.

After further discussions we decided to change the contents of the tailoring course. Hand embroidery, soft toy making and other such crafts were included so that the children could work without much initial investment or capital. This way, we felt, they would be involved in the creation of the whole product, they could be creative and they would also have more chances for self-employment.

The second lot of training programmes commenced soon afterwards. Sixteen new children joined — eight girls and eight boys. Meenakshi is doing very well in the screen printing course which is usually the domain of boys and Appu, with his earlier experience in a tailor shop, astonishes us with his superior stitching skills. These examples will help more children to choose job options which need not be linked to gender.

The experiences we are gathering in this process are both useful and interesting. Over a period of time we are sure it will evolve into a much more fruitful experience for both the children and us.

82. *The "SABANA" Project on Manila's Smokey Mountain*

Susan E. Gunn and Zenaida Ostos

"Dilemmas in Tackling Child Labour: The Case of Scavenger Children in the Philippines", *International Labour Review*, 131 (6), 1992, (639-41).

SABANA (a Tagalog acronym meaning "sheltered learning place for child workers") was created in a building at the foot of the dump. It was close enough still to be part of the community and easy for the children to reach, but far enough from the worksite to emphasize the rule that, for those who entered, there would be no more scavenging.

Two programmes were set up: SABANA I for children who were attending school, mainly younger ones aged 7-12; and SABANA II for school drop-outs aged 13-17. Both had the same four components: learning, earning, health, and parent involvement, but the first two were implemented in different ways.

The SABANA I programme was designed to keep children at school. Its "Learn" component focused on strengthening the child's self-esteem and academic skills. Guided by the findings of the psychological research, SABANA I staff developed an innovative curriculum that employed multiple learning modes: visual, auditory, kinaesthetic and tactile. In their teaching, the CWs [community worker] used concepts and the language of the dump familiar to the children and instructed in a patient and repetitive manner so that the children could master, for the first time, what had been slipping past them at school. Coached by psychology students from the Ateneo University, CWs learned how to handle the children and how to develop activities so as to promote their sense of self-worth. A theatre group was developed to give the children a new medium for expressing themselves. In one play, disguised as the mice of Smokey Mountain, previously silent children found themselves able to talk to the adults of the community about how deeply they were affected by the violence of the area.

The "Earn" component of SABANA I was a hand-painted T-shirt business, chosen because skills and content could be constantly varied, and because it offered the opportunity for self-expression. In 1990 the sales (used as wages and dividends for the children) reached US$7,540.

SABANA II was for older children who were so far behind educationally that it was unlikely they would return to normal school, as in the case of those who were 14 years old but still at Grade I level. The "Learn" component of this full-day programme contained two parts: vocational preparation and essential literacy and numeracy. Vocational preparation introduced several basic trades (carpentry, masonry, metalworking, electricity, electronics) in modules of two or three months each. It was not intended to equip children with enough skills to get jobs, for to do so would be to encourage child work, but rather to give them a strong foundation so they could enter and do well in the standard vocational training programmes of NGOs and government agencies when they reached the entry age. The literacy and numeracy training was imparted in a unique curriculum geared to the trades being presented in the vocational preparation modules.

The "Earn" component of SABANA II was a hand-made paper business. Stationery, posters and other items which the children made by recycling waste paper have earned SABANA II acclaim in two national exhibitions.

The "Health" component of both SABANAs was the same and was designed to strengthen the children physically and psychologically, as well as to rehabilitate those suffering from specific disorders. Meals were provided plus vitamins, milk and fortified porridges to improve the children's nutritional status. Health check-ups and all resulting medical treatments and preventive health care of the child and, to a lesser extent, of his/her family were provided. (Surprisingly this was the cheapest part of the whole programme because many agencies offered free services.) The psychological difficulties of the children were addressed in two ways: weekly excursions designed to help the children feel comfortable in the world outside Smokey Mountain and to know how to behave (these also provided them with the chance to play in an unpolluted atmosphere); and one-to-one counselling and child advocacy that the community workers undertook with the SABANA children and their families.

The "Parent" component of the SABANA programmes ensured that the parents participated in the rehabilitation of their children. In exchange for the project accepting the child in SABANA, the parents contracted (a) to provide breakfast for the child, (b) to ensure that the child came each day, and (c) to keep the child from working. The Parent Programme attempted to involve the families of SABANA children in all aspects of project work, from management to cooking, as a means of helping them understand the need to release their children from scavenging. Interestingly, the third who regularly responded — which was an unusually high participation rate for Smokey Mountain — said they did so because of pressure from their children. In other words, parents were led to learn and change through their children rather than the other way around.

CASE STUDIES

Street Education

Much has been written about the importance of street education as a way of working with street children. This section provides three perspectives on the topic — the classic philosophical approach, the reaction from children's points of view and a reminder that the street itself is a place of education and not simply somewhere where children can be met prior to enticing them inside institutions.

83. *The Street Educator: An Innovative Approach to Learning*

Ovidio López

"El concepto de educator de la calle", document prepared for the board of the MESE programme, Mexico, 1987 (English translation taken from *Our Child, Our Hope*, 1 (2), 1987, Guatemala City, Childhope International, (3)).

The term and concept "street educator" is not something chosen capriciously or arbitrarily; it was chosen in order to express the educational, critical, innovative, open and participative nature of this work. Educators like Paulo Freire have endorsed and expanded upon this term.

The term "education" is the broadest one that may be applied to the concept of human development and integral formation.

The following subcategories fall into the category of education: instruction, learning, teaching, orientation, training, tutorship and counselling. There are also specific technical subcategories: literacy, training, handcraft education, and so on.

The concept of education involved in street education implies that integral development of the street child should be implemented in a participative way with messages that are relevant for the street child.

An environment in which to establish educational dialogue with the children and adolescents is required: an environment in which they receive the respect they deserve; in which their greatness and hope can emerge; where they can discover faith in themselves and confidence in their capabilities for self-sufficiency. They must be encouraged to integrate themselves into their communities and the role they can play in the story of their country, city, neighbourhood or town.

The street educator is the one who serves street children, acts as a friend, a guide, a counsellor and a confidant. He or she shares in their problems, as well as their dreams of self-improvement. This is the only way in which an adult/child friendship can flourish between them.

The street educator is the one who allows the child to be a child, allows him to jump, laugh, sing, play, even if he needs to do serious work. Educating the child means training him or her and helping them find a job that can provide security.

The street educator is the one who encourages an environment that is conducive to expansion and spontaneity, as well as responsibility: an environment in which the street children can express personality and convictions, enrich intelligence, form will and capacity for solidarity and commitment, while thinking about the future and finding a way in the world.

The street educator is the one who is a part of the street children's world. It is there where the best opportunities to become acquainted with their qualities and shortcomings, as well as to intuit their problems are found. It is the place where the children spontaneously express themselves as they truly are, where they reveal a great deal about themselves and about their dreams. It is the environment in which they must develop, grow, enrich themselves and reach fulfillment.

Street education involves providing an active, vital presence, which adapts itself to the demands and needs of the street children.

Within this context, the enduring, friendly figure of the street educator emerges. This is the person who shows solidarity with and commitment to the children who are on the street; the person who is dedicated to rescuing their values and helping them discover their organizational strength as marginalized people.

This type of work demands that the street educator continuously revise concepts, values, and ideologies in order to act as a facilitating element in the process of creating awareness.

We can never forget that the street educator must be an ever firmer presence, because he lives harmoniously the relationship between the authority he represents and the freedom of the children.

84. *What the Children Say*

From Childhope

First Regional Conference/Seminar on Street Children in Asia, May 4-13, 1989, Manila, Philippines, Manila, Childhope Asia, (17).

A. We like a street educator

- who is a friend, who is sympathetic and shows affection

- who is a source of encouragement, protection and inspiration
- who gives immediate service
- who knows self-defense
- who spends time with us (playing, sleeping, working)

We do not like a street educator

- who makes promises and doesn't keep them, e.g. promises to meet us at a particular place and time but doesn't show up, or who promises to give material aid but doesn't deliver
- who moralizes (who finds something wrong in everything we do)
- who sees us as dirty/foul smelling
- who does not understand our "culture"
- who is gullible
- who has favorites among us children
- who wears too much make-up and/or jewelry

B. We like an approach

- that is non-threatening, sincere
- that is relevant, for example
- that protects us from the police and other sources of harassment
- that provides us food when we need it
- that gives importance to what we can do
- that allows for excursions

We do not like an approach

- that comes on strong suddenly ("bigla na lang sumulpot")
- that is probing

C. The factors which may hinder a street-based programme are:

- policemen
- syndicates
- distance between where the children are and the agency of the street educator
- anti-vagrancy law
- activities initiated by the street educator which are boring or uninteresting
- parents who discourage their children from associating with street educators

85. *The Street as the Context of Learning*

Colin Ward

The Child in the City. London: The Architectural Press Ltd, 1978 (176-7).

If there is an urban education crisis because so many city children do not fit the style and method of the city's education system, if as Mario Fantini and Gerald Weinstein put it, "the urban context is one in which there is a persistent stress imposed by intensely concentrated social realities,[1] it is also a context which can provide, in Edgar Gumpert's words, "education networks of fantastic richness and variety.[2] The city is in itself an environmental education, and can be used to provide one, whether we are thinking of learning *through* the city, learning *about* the city, learning to *use* the city, to *control* the city, or to *change* the city.

It was Paul Goodman ... who ... casually enunciated many years ago the philosophy of urban environmental education which the city teacher of today is painfully evolving...

Much later in his life Goodman wrote that the model for the kind of incidental education that he recommended was that of the Athenian pedagogue touring the city with his charges, "but for this the streets and working places of the city must be made safer and more available. The idea of city planning is for the children to be able to use the city, for no city is governable if it does not grow citizens who feel it is theirs.[3]

He had to wait many years for the climate of educational experiment to change sufficiently to try out a "school without walls" *using* the city. The best known such experiment is the Parkway Education Program in Philadelphia initiated in 1969 and run by the Schools Districts there. Students were not handpicked, but were chosen by lottery amongst applicants from the eight geographically-determined school board districts of the city, in grades 9 to 12 (ages 14 to 18) regardless of academic or behavioural background. There was no school building. Each of the eight units (which operated independently) had a headquarters with office space for staff and lockers for students. All teaching took place within the community: the search for facilities was considered to be part of the process of education: "The city offers an incredible variety of learning labs: art students study at the Art Museum, biology students meet at the zoo; business and vocational courses meet at on-the-job sites such as journalism at a newspaper, or mechanics at a garage..." The Parkway Program claimed that "although schools are supposed to prepare for life in the community, most schools so isolate students from the community that a functional understanding of how it works is impossible ... Since society suffers as much as the students from the failure of the educational system, it did not seem unreasonable to ask the community to assume some responsibility for the education of its children."[4]

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[1] Fantini, M. D. and Weinstein, G., *The Disadvantaged: Challenge in Education.* New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

[2] Gumpert, E., "The City as Educator: How to Be Radical without Even Trying", in Raynor, J. and Harden, J. (eds), *Equality and City Schools.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.

[3]. Goodman, P., *Compulsory Miseducation.* New York: Horizon Press, 1964.

[4] Bremner, J. and Moschzisker, M. von, *The School without Walls.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston,1971.

CASE STUDIES

Children as Teachers and Learners

Working children, whether in factories or farms, on the streets, or in other people's houses, are bearers of experiences, responsibilities and economic roles. More than any other children they cannot be treated as blank slates on which education writes the script for adult life. Their educational needs remind us of the interactive relationship between teacher and taught, that is the basis of true education.

These final readings show the value of viewing children as actors in their own education and provide some examples of practical ways of bringing this about.

86. *Learning What Children Want*

YUVA (Youth United for Voluntary Action)

Life on the Mean Streets — Experiences of Working with Street Children. Bombay: YUVA 1992 (3).

What we at YUVA learnt in these six months formed the basis of our most fundamental beliefs regarding the street children and their rehabilitation. Looking at the reasons why the street children had left their homes we recognised that most of them had asserted their revolt against injustice from their family, relatives and even the circumstances of poverty and deprivation. They had taken life in their little hands and decided early that they would not take injustice lying down. Once recognising the assertive spirit, the independence and maturity of these little individuals we decided that we would not make it our business to force any of these boys to return home or in any way swamp their ability to make decisions. What we would do is to meet the street children on their home ground, on their terms. Our role would be to provide opportunity to the street children to grow and develop their skills and abilities. *One of our basic convictions was not to impose what was 'right' or 'wrong' on the boys.* This was simply because we realised that what was 'right' from one point of view may not be so from theirs. We learn the rightness or wrongness of things in an environment radically different from theirs. And their environment ratifies a morality, values and a code of conduct which we may term as wrong. Thus, instead of calling a street child a criminal and trying to mould him, we must go behind the scene and influence the environment and circumstances which criminalise him.

These six months also taught us that the first few days of making contact with the street children were not the days to preach. In the early stages of acquaintance, a street child cannot be a friend. In fact, he is even more aware of the social differences between the social workers and himself. And he has been more exposed to betrayals of trust. *Thus cementing a strong emotional relationship with street children became top priority in our work with them.*

87. *Providing What Children Want: Schools for Life*

Fabio Dallape

An Experience with Street Children (2nd. edition). Nairobi: Undugu Society of Kenya, 1988 (69-72).

In East Africa, primary schools are well spread all over each country and are found even in remote villages. Everyone will agree that it is the duty of Governments to make sure that all children are educated. In the rural areas there is no problem of places in schools; every child can be admitted. The school committees are composed of members of the community and they know the financial possibilities of the parents. If children drop out or run away from those schools it is usually because of other reasons than those mentioned above. They would run away because of serious problems in their families or because of poverty, droughts, wars, etc. The situation in the cities is different and it is Undugu's experience that, even if there was enough space in Government schools, some children would not benefit.

It is important to note that the concept of adapting the learning to a specific situation could be applied to both large towns and to the situation prevailing in areas outside the big cities.

Before starting special schools, you need to consider the following:

- Have an educationalist as a member of your team. She/he must be motivated, enthusiastic, and professionally outstanding. She/he must be a trained teacher with the capacity of transforming the observations of the learners into educational material.
- Discuss the idea and the curriculum with officers in the Ministry of Education. In every Ministry you will find people who are more sensitive than

It therefore appears necessary to develop an education that takes into account the special situation of street children, and also of children from very poor families. The training should be adapted to their living environment.

On the basis of the identified problems, the Undugu Society [an NGO in Nairobi, Kenya] explored the possibility of having special schools for the street children, initially called *"schools for life"* or non-formal schools. These schools, after an initial period of experimentation, have now been approved by the Kenyan Government. Their curriculum is shorter than the normal one (three years instead of 7 and 4 instead of 8) and it contains the subjects relevant to the daily lives of the pupils. The methodology in teaching is the one usually applied for adults and consists in helping the learners to discover the knowledge for themselves. So far we have never experienced a shortage of learners.

In our Undugu schools we have included business administration as a subject. In each school a tea bar was opened. At the beginning of the year, the learners and the teacher put together the initial capital through individual shares. Every week a team of learners runs the bar, preparing and selling tea. At the end of each day, the teacher is briefed on the money invested and the net profit. At the end of the week the learners go through the process in class; they write down the initial capital, the expenditures incurred, the number of cups sold, the total income (gross income). From these figures they deduct the expenditures and calculate the net profit that will be accumulated and at the end of the year each 'shareholder' will get back the shares plus their profit.

The lessons are very practical and relevant to their daily life. During the three academic years the learners are exposed to some technical training in carpentry and tailoring. In the fourth year, the learners (boys and girls) have a block technical session of three months in carpentry, metal work and tailoring. At the end of the year, the learners and their teachers are able to select the type of skill each one feels is most appropriate for him/herself.

others to the problem of misplaced youth. From them you will receive the necessary guidance and support.

- Start with a few street children and a few teachers. Keep in mind that there are no teachers trained for such schools. It is important that they are aware that they are NOT prepared for such a job.
- Train your teachers; this is an on-going process. The teachers must observe the learners and be guided by them.

Things to observe when running your special school are the following:

Attention: to what extent do the learners follow?
Participation: are they actively taking part in discovering knowledge?
Interest: do they use the knowledge acquired in their daily lives at home and/or in the street?

Teachers must be aware that their learners are mature youth, almost responsible adults. They are independent persons, taking care of themselves. The learners would never accept to remain in a primary school situation where the relationship between teachers and learners is a relationship between adults and children.

Learners in our schools have to be considered as partners in discovering knowledge. It is easy to understand how psychologically true this statement is: they want to know and to learn what they need in order to survive more easily in their environment. Who knows their environment better than they themselves? They have to guide the teachers in the knowledge of their environment. The teachers cannot possibly teach anything relevant about an environment they don't know.

One cannot overemphasize the importance of the attitude of the teachers towards their learners: an attitude of respect, appreciation and encouragement. If the learners understand that they are seen as human beings, worth being with and intelligent, they will relate to their teachers as to a father figure who will guide them in their growth into adulthood.

This type of school, though necessary, does not cater for the most needy youngsters: the ones who have to struggle to get something to put into their stomach, the ones who have been too long on the street to get used to a structured school. These youth need a different type of learning environment.

Here we have to use our own imagination. I think it is important to recognize that when a child has been accustomed to following his own timetable for quite a long time, it is impossible for him to adapt to an imposed and inflexible one.

Personally I have never had the opportunity of direct experience of an unstructured school, of a learning environment which is not class oriented, but I do think that is the type of learning we should be considering for these children.

My first suggestion then would be to think of a learning environment which is not class-oriented, i.e., without timetable, without classrooms, without previously prepared lessons, without books, without people called "teachers."

A school without timetables: it would be a 24 hours' timetable. We learn continuously even when we sleep — in our dreams. Each time of the day can be used to learn provided it offers the stimulating experience that can catch the attention of the learners.
A school without classrooms: the street, the places where we eat or sleep or play, those places are our learning environment; wherever we *are, is our classroom*.
A school without lessons: the learning materials come from the happenings of daily life. Instead of teaching "A" as for apple, it might be more applicable to use "C" as for cinema or "B" as for bar or "P" as for police.

Learning mathematics should be based on how to count one's money, how to obtain it, how to spend it, how to trade with it.

Dreams at night can be a topic for a drama, a design, a piece of creative writing. Their life can be

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as exciting as a film and full of learning events. They don't know how to use, analyse and control those events so that they become useful knowledge for their lives. Learning is directly related to their immediate experience.

A school without books: the learners should write their own books. The first page could be about "P" for petrol or police and let them make drawings to express their feelings about these subjects. Every page with a few words and a design. These books could be read to the others. It would be an exciting event full of fun. The books that are available in libraries could be available to the students whenever needed. But the books most appreciated by them will be their own. An interesting experience is reported in the "Letter of the Fourth World Movement" about a library on the street in a town in Europe. It reads: "We also decided to begin a book ourselves. Children in both neighborhoods contributed drawings and stories about their families, houses or just imaginings. They made a real effort to create something beautiful and often, after several frustrating attempts, were pleasantly surprised at their own abilities."

A school without "teachers": I hardly believe that the facilitator in such a learning process could be called "teacher". Professionally she/he should be a very good and creative educationalist, almost a scientist in education. But I don't think it would be helpful to be called a "teacher". There, you are a friend who knows how to play the game of a school without walls; the game of a writer who teaches how to write school books; the game of a film maker who makes them act in the real film of their lives. In that situation you are not a "teacher", you are more than that; you are a guide. You are a master learner, you are their "life moulder".

In Mathare there is another example of non-formal education, started under the guidance of St. Theresa's Catholic Church: it is called "self-help children's school". The learners (adolescents between 12 and 15 years of age) collect beer or soda bottle tops, pieces of iron and other metal, plastic bags, charcoal and whatever else can be sold. They sell what they collect to a shop not far away from Mathare, and are free to come to school from 2 to 4 p.m. Since the school has only just started, the experience is so far limited, it is necessary to evaluate its effectiveness.

WARNING: Don't disturb them when they are busy in whatever is profitable to them. If you are present when they are engaged in an earning job and they need assistance, you may help them or play the part of their cashier and be honest. However, use this experience to enable them to learn how to count their money and how to record their savings, any time that they are free.

Literacy and education are tools to be used in helping us in our daily lives. To be useful, therefore, literacy and education have to be adapted to the demand of the community in which they live and work.

88. *Peer Teaching in Africa*

Maurice Kouyaté

"The Teacher Shortage and Peer Teaching in Africa", *Prospects*, VIII (1), 1978, UNESCO, (36-8, 45-6).

Peer teaching as such, in which each learner is also a teacher, became officially established in education after the First World War. It was on a very modest scale to begin with, but then went from strength to strength until it became one of the principles of mass education in numerous countries — and one of the best known slogans of French students in 1968.

While the system of monitors is based on the parcelling out of knowledge, and the method of the one-schoolteacher on tradition, peer teaching is based on exchange. In the one-teacher school, the older pupils pass on their knowledge, organization and moral rules to the younger ones. It is the traditional handing-down which occurs within a society from one age cohort to the next. By contrast, peer teaching lays stress on the creation of a society and of knowledge within a group of equals. Here, there is no longer a monitor, or an older pupil appointed by the adult teacher, acting as a coach for his schoolfellows but the entire group of pupils, working within an independent team, teaches each other.

Various experiments over the last ten years have shown that if one takes a group of five people of the same level and background (five pupils from a lower secondary school, or five workmen from a factory), the sum of the knowledge of the individual members of the group is very roughly equal to twice the knowledge of one single member. The sum of the individuals' knowledge is smaller if the background is very uniform and very limited (e.g. a class of young children in a village school) and greater if the background is very diversified (e.g. an urban community).

This can be easily accounted for by the fact that there are no two people who have exactly the same body of experience. A blacksmith's son knows things which a farmer's son does not know, and vice-versa. What is more, they will not each retain the same impression from the same experience. All groups are diversified.

In this way, even without any information from outside, the members of a five-person group can practically double the volume of their individual knowledge merely by exchanging the knowledge they have. In fact, however, a group always has a certain amount of information from outside. In practice, the advantage of a peer-teaching group is not so much the increase in knowledge as the increased number of points of view. When five students read a chapter on mathematics, they will not all understand everything, but there is a chance that A will understand what B, C and D have not understood, and can explain it to them. Even if none of them has understood, their failure to understand is not always the same. They can, in a manner of speaking, add to and clarify each other's knowledge by the variety of their points of view.

If exchanges are to take place to the full, the group must, in the first place, be a small, lively, very fluid community in which there is no obstacle to communication. This is why most of the educators who have worked with groups think that they should not be too large, with five to six children up to the age of 12, and three to four for older pupils. In the view of most educationists it is also desirable for the children to choose their group companions without any compulsion. Some educationists, however, consider that it is very important to avoid having a group of intellectuals, a group of manual workers, a group of 'good' pupils, or a group of unruly ones, and that children should be divided fairly equally among groups so that they can help and teach each other regarding all activities — in the classroom, in the school garden or on the sports field.

Peer teaching among peers has been the subject of very numerous experiments in a very great variety of countries. In schools where it has been instituted, one teacher may very easily take on responsibility for 100 pupils. This means that individual or group work takes up approximately two-thirds of the timetables and work with the teacher (the presentation of lessons, correction of exercises, explanation of difficulties met by the group), only one-third...

From the quantitative point of view, peer teaching could make it possible, if necessary, for one teacher to teach and supervise a hundred pupils, which represents a two-thirds saving in salaries. This does not mean that two-thirds of the teaching force should be dismissed, but that with the existing number of teachers it would be possible to have three times the number of pupils. In other words, without increasing expenditure on salaries, it would be possible to achieve universal schooling immediately and, what is perhaps still more urgent, to give additional training — which should be oriented towards productive work — to young people who have left school but have not been able to find employment.

In addition, peer teaching could make a powerful contribution to bridging the gap between imported education and the African community. It would help the school to be more realistic and hence to be more responsive to the population's practical needs.

It is a fact that the principles of peer teaching are very much in tune with the traditions of African society, and there are grounds for thinking that an educational method of this kind might therefore take root easily in the African community.

In addition, peer teaching requires no equipment or expenditure. It is the most economical of methods, being originally the method of the poor man, and is perfectly suited to developing countries.

Lastly, it is a method which is exceptionally simple to apply and which requires no special knowledge on the part of the teacher. Anyone can take part in peer teaching.

Why is this technique, which is both useful and easy, not put to greater use?

The answer is to be found in various directions. In Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century, peer teaching was seen as a liberating venture, and as such was vigorously attacked by the forces of reaction. There was little likelihood that colonial powers would introduce such a system on a large scale in their overseas possessions. In the early days of colonization, Europeans had resource to peer teaching in several instances (Senegal, Sierra Leone) as being the obvious method to be used in the circumstances. However, they soon abandoned it in favour of a type of school which was admittedly more cumbersome and expensive, but was more suited to the ends sought, which were not the education of the population as a whole but the training of a minority of fully assimilated interpreter-secretaries.

After independence, it was typical of technical assistance in general that while all possible and imaginable educational innovations were tried out, and have been tried out for the last twenty years, peer teaching was never included among them until the Recommendation made by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1974.

The reason may well have been, at least to some extent, that the introduction of peer teaching is so simple and inexpensive that it does not require any assistance. The more complicated the type of education, the more aid is required by the developing world. Each year brings with it a new discovery — programmed instruction, operational objectives, integrated science, group techniques, micro-instruction, etc. These new techniques obviously require the presence of new experts. The endless stream of innovation perpetuates technical assistance. This is certainly not done by design, either by States or by international organizations which gain nothing from spending their money to no purpose. It is the vested interests of officialdom and individuals which are involved. Among officials, no one actively promotes peer teaching because it is difficult to think in terms of a mutual tuition 'project' and peer teaching 'experts'. Peer teaching among other things spells the end of the mystique of the expert.

89. *Children Who Do Not Go to School*

Child-to-Child

From *Child-to-Child Activity Sheets* 1.4 and 8.1, London, Child-to-Child Trust.

The Idea

In many countries more than half the children under fifteen do not go to school at all, or leave school very early. They stay at home to look after the younger ones, or to work in the house or the fields. Although the situation varies from country to country, most of them are girls.

School children can help those who are not at school by sharing their activities with them. They can play simple reading or counting games with them, and pass on simple health ideas learned in school. Children who do not go to school have much to share with those who do. The child at school must look on the child out of school as a friend and partner, not as one who is less important or who knows less.

What Children Can Do Together

There are many things that children who are in school can do to help children who are not at school, including

- talking, and sharing ideas
- helping with counting, reading and writing
- sharing knowledge, especially about health

Activities

Talking together

Children can tell each other stories. Children who go to school can read stories to their friends. If the child at home knows some good stories, the school child can write them down, and they can then read them together, and then make pictures about them. Remember talking about things helps reading about them.

Children can share 'what happened today'. Children from school can talk about some of the things that happened at school, and some of the things they have learned. Children at home can tell about what happened around home and in the neighbourhood while their friends were at school.

Learning to count, read and write

Children who cannot count, read, or write often feel unhappy, especially if there are many other children in the community who can. By teaching them some simple things, we can help them to be less 'different' from others, and also show them that they can learn new things easily. Then they will have some of the skills they will need when they are older.

School children can teach their friends to count:

- to learn to count the numbers from one to ten
- to be able to recognise and write them
- to add and subtract simple sums
- to use small amounts of money, and count the change.

Remember: always use real objects when teaching others to count or add or subtract. Use stones, sticks, real or copied coins.

They can teach their friends to begin reading and writing. Write on the ground if there is no paper or slate, and help them

- to learn the alphabet
- to recognise and write the letters
- to write their name
- to recognise and write the names of other people in the family
- to read numbers and signs in the street (if they live in town)
- to read and even write some simple names of objects around the house which are used every day.

Later on in this sheet there are some simple number and reading games that children can make.

School children can try to help their friends to *learn anything else which they want very much to learn,* for example how to write a short letter, how to address and post the letter, how to use the library (if they live in town), how to get to different places. In this way, children who are not at school can feel less alone, can look after their own families better when they grow up.

Helping Children who Live or Work on the Street

Special activities to help children who live or work on the streets can take place in the community, at home, at school or at a special project base. It is best if the activities help children build up positive relationships with their families and community and give them self respect.

The jobs done by children in the street involve skills and special talents such as quick thinking, inventiveness, patience and common sense. The strong attachments which children can form help them learn about loyalty and solidarity. Children and other people who want to help must build on these positive qualities.

A special approach to learning and teaching

Most children who live or work on the streets would welcome educational activities which allow them to earn at the same time. As the children are so independent, they need to be actively involved in planning activities. Let children suggest what they would like to do and help them to make choices. Help them learn to listen to each other, value other people's ideas and solve problems.

A good teacher will help children solve their own difficulties not provide them with answers.

All activities should be relevant, even when the children plan to use their education as a way out of street life: reading material can come from everyday things like road signs, shop signs or newspapers; mathematics can be based on marketing skills.

Time spent on activities should be short and full of action. Children will need space to move, play, laugh and dance.

Those working with these children need to respect, appreciate and encourage them. Non-formal educators need to work in a flexible and creative way. People who have experienced difficulties in their own childhood often make sympathetic educators.

Talk to adults who are important to the children; for instance their leaders or protectors. Getting the cooperation and assistance of those closest to the children will be the best way to help them.

In the Community

People in the community need to understand that it is not the children's fault when they live or work on the streets. Instead of blaming the children and treating them as thieves and pests, people need to take positive steps both to help the children living or working on the streets and to prevent more children joining them.

Activities

Ideas for these activities have come from different parts of the world. They have helped children build links with people in the community.

- Community leaders have organised a place for children to meet together. Here the children sing, dance, and play games. In some communities, special 'after school clubs' are set up for children whose parents both work. They enjoy doing activities with their friends in a place where they feel cared for and protected.
- Young people have organised a place where children buy a cheap ticket to watch films. The 'video shed' is a place where children make contact with people and groups who can help them with education, health or sports activities.
- Artisans have provided children with useful training. They help to build children's self confidence and develop positive attitudes.
- Health workers have organised workshops. Children who live or work in the streets know that health is important: illness makes them miserable and prevents them from earning money. The most common diseases for children who live or work on the street are skin diseases, stomach aches, diarrhoea and pneumonia. Groups of children participate in short workshops on health and then help to spread health messages to their friends.
- Scout groups have organised literacy clubs, recreational games and health and environment projects for parents and children. These joint activities help restore fragile relationships between children and adults in the community.
- Children have organised and run sport and organised games. Sports activities help strengthen the children's sense of discipline and earn them respect. They can bring children from different parts of a community together. Children take pride in these activities. They help to organise the activities and raise the money to keep them going.

At School

In a school where children are proud of the role they can play in helping one another, in spreading health messages to the community and in taking responsibility for their environments, there will be fewer difficulties with drop-outs and vandalism.

Special activities in the classroom or at school can do a lot to help children who may be thinking about leaving home or school. Children in school can be made more aware of the dangers of street life; they can help to organise and run special activities for out-of-school children; they can encourage drop-outs to return to school.

Activities

- Child-to-Child health activities link classroom activities with those in the community and home. These activities help to build children's confidence and make them feel useful and respected.
- Children who have faced the difficulties of life away from home and school can talk to other children about their experiences. Together they can write stories and songs and draw posters which can be used to raise awareness in the community. Concerts, competitions, exhibitions, parents days and open-days all help the community to become closer and develop a better understanding of the needs of the school and its children.
- In some schools special Child-to-Child committees have been set up. They include the head teacher, other teachers and senior pupils. The committees can plan ways to help vulnerable children in the school and the community.

The committees can help to run special 'catch-up clubs', to find children who have dropped out, and encourage them to return to school without shame. Children in the top primary classes can become the 'catch-up club' teachers and help children to catch up with school work they have missed.

- Sports activities can involve children who do not go to school. They can be included in teams or be invited to train or play regularly with school-going children.

At Home

Poverty and ill health can lead to many tensions in a child's home. Parents and other children at home can try to help each other understand the reasons behind these difficulties and try to work out their problems in a positive way.

Activities

- If a child is being bad tempered and aggressive at home, other children and adults can try to find out what is wrong (children are often better at doing this). Try to think of things the child can do for the rest of the family which will make him or her feel important and useful.
- Parents whose children have a happy home and school life can teach them to care for and respect children who are worse off. If a child of a 'poor relation' is brought into a family, s/he should be treated with as much respect as the other children.
- Children often find elderly people easy to talk to. They can often form important friendships. Elderly people enjoy talking to children and telling them stories which teach them about their culture and traditions. This helps to build a child's sense of belonging to a family and a community.
- Children can make toys to sell or for playing with younger children; footballs, juggling balls, toy cars, toy bicycles etc. Parents and others in the community can make scraps available and encourage toy-making projects.

Special Projects

Activities

- Projects can link artisans with children to teach them income-generating skills: soap making, market gardening, poultry keeping. Children can help to find people they like to help them.
- Children, parents, teachers, employers, and community members can use the project base to discuss problems with a project worker.
- Children and project workers can work together to make contact with their families and start re-building family relationships.
- Children who have budgeting skills can help less experienced children learn to save and plan.
- Children are good at expressing themselves through theatre, music and dance. Some street children earn their living through street performances such as puppet shows, acrobatics and juggling, singing and bands. Performances help to make communities aware of the needs of these children in a way that also earns the children respect. Projects can help and encourage the children to do this.

Follow Up Activities

- Children can find out how many children dropped out of school before, during and after the special activities were introduced to help prevent drop-outs.
- Children can try to find out what has happened to children who dropped out of their class.
- Children can find out what other children learned when they went to a health workshop, a games club or a literacy class.
- Children can find out what the 'little teachers' and their students are doing at the 'catch up club'. They can find out from the school teachers how the 'catch up clubs' have helped the students and the 'little teachers' and what the problems are.
- Children can find out about the attitudes of community members towards children living and working on the street before and after a special 'awareness campaign'.

90. *Developing Pedagogical Aids*

Fabio Dallape and Celine Gilbert

Children's Participation in Action Research: Training Course for Trainers. Harare: ENDA-Zimbabwe, 1993 (31-2).

Pedagogy is a Greek word which means to walk around — Socrates walked around with his disciples and during these walks they would observe, philosophise and learn. Today, pedagogy means the science of teaching. Pedagogical aids are teaching or learning tools to improve understanding and enhance the liveliness of the learning process. They are a means of linking what the children know with what they will learn.

For each step of action research we designed and developed pedagogical aids which will help to actively involve the children in the process of research and planning.

Examples of pedagogical aids

- visual aids
- relevant newspaper articles
- stories
- games/jokes
- outings
- music sessions (singing stories)
- drama and role play
- group discussion
- relevant radio programmes
- videos/films
- sports
- mime
- stories
- dance
- puppets and masks
- puzzles

Pedagogical aids MUST BE SIMPLE and RELEVANT. There should always be discussion and a summary of the "message" or purpose of the tool. Pedagogical aids should always be tested first.

Practical Work with Streetwise Children

In order to practice designing, developing and using pedagogical aids participants had a morning session with the children from Street-Wise. The groups had to design and develop pedagogical aids which would communicate the importance of information in knowing and solving problems.

The groups used role play, discussion, games (connect the dots), ice-breakers (steer the blind and pick a nose), writing on the black-board, dancing and poetry.

Lessons Learned

It is important to go slowly and ensure that you have been understood. Asking for examples from the group to illustrate your point is a good method to ensure learning. Pedagogical aids should be relevant to the children's context and should appeal to things they like. For example, one of the role plays used music. Humour is also a good way to lighten the atmosphere and engage the children.

Part 5. ANNEX

This annex contains a list of resource organizations and suggestions for further reading, which should simplify the process of obtaining other relevant books, articles and additional materials.

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Resource List on Child Work and Basic Education

This section includes a selection of both non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations from various parts of the world that have resources to offer on child work and basic education. Many other organizations have programmes for child workers, but do not necessarily run enquiry services.

A brief description with a contact address, telephone number and fax number, where available, is provided for each organization. You can use these organizations to exchange information and ideas on your projects as well as to share the resources and materials that your project has developed. You can also use these organizations as an enquiry service. It could be very useful to encourage projects and organizations to network further, both locally and internationally.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs)

All of these organizations are actors on the international stage, but some have more regional interests. They focus variously on research, advocacy and actual development work.

1. *ANTI- SLAVERY INTERNATIONAL (ASI)* (Reading 34)

The ASI was founded in 1839 and has a claim to being the oldest human rights organization in the world. It researches and campaigns on all forms of contemporary slavery, including child slavery and the related area of child labour. ASI has produced publications on child labour and also has an extensive library, covering child labour issues, which is open to the public.

For further information contact:

Anti-Slavery International
The Stableyard
Broomgrove Road
LONDON SW9 9TL
United Kingdom
Telephone: (44 171) 924 9555
Fax: (44 171) 738 4110

2. *APPROPRIATE HEALTH RESOURCES AND TECHNOLOGIES ACTION GROUP (AHRTAG)*

AHRTAG supports community organizations and health workers in their efforts to improve local health care provision by facilitating information exchange and publishing newsletters and resource lists. AHRTAG runs specialist programmes on AIDS, disability issues, and community-based rehabilitation, child health including diarrhoea and pneumonia, primary health care management, training and health education. It publishes newsletters on these issues which provide practical information and promote primary health care. These publications are free to those in developing countries. AHRTAG has also published a resource pack on AIDS and Sexual Health for street children.

For further information contact:

Appropriate Health Resources and
Technologies Action Group
Farringdon Point
29 - 35 Farringdon Road
LONDON EC1M 3JB
United Kingdom
Telephone: (44 171) 242 0606
Fax: (44 171) 242 0041

3. *CENTRO BRASILEIRO DE DEFESA DOS DIREITOS DA CRIANCA E DO ADOLESCENTE (S.O.S. CRIANCA)*

S.O.S. Crianca promotes a national awareness of issues related to street children and advocates for the legal rights of children in Brazil. Through outreach teams and a mobile van, the Centre is active in health promotion in joint strategies with local public services and other NGOs. The Centre also provides training, conducts research and develops resource material, including on child labour. It has a database of over 700 NGOs working with street children.

For further information contact:

S.O.S Crianca
Rua Do Livramento 158
Saude
Rio de Janeiro RJ CEP 20221
Brazil
Telephone: (55 21) 233 9715
Fax: (55 21) 227 4029

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4. *CHILD-TO-CHILD TRUST*
(Reading 89)

Child-to-Child Trust aims to promote and preserve the health of communities worldwide by encouraging and enabling children and young people to play an active and responsible role in their own health and development, as well as of other children and their families. The Trust produces and distributes health education materials, and is involved in training and the development of a network of those interested in promoting Child-to-Child ideas.

The Child-to-Child approach to health education and primary health care operates through a network of health and education workers in over 60 countries. It involves children in health education and has materials, for children and health workers, in various languages, including Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Gujarati, Hindi, Indonesian, Portuguese, Sesotho, Spanish, Swahili and Telegu. The Child-to-Child resource book contains an 'Ideas into Action' section that is useful for training in participatory methods of work.

Materials can be purchased through:

Teaching Aids at Low Cost (TALC)
P.O. Box 49
St Albans, Herts AL1 4AX
United Kingdom
Telephone: (44 727) 85 3869
Fax: (44 727) 84 6852

For further information on the Trust contact:

Child-to-Child Trust
Institute of Education
20 Bedford Way
London, WC1H 0AL
United Kingdom
Telephone: (44 171) 612 6650
Fax: (44 171) 612 6645

5. *DEFENCE FOR CHILDREN INTERNATIONAL (DCI)*

DCI, a worldwide organization for children's rights founded in 1979, seeks to promote knowledge and understanding of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, monitors compliance with the rights it encapsulates and intervenes where appropriate to protect those rights. It has consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council, UNICEF and the Council of Europe. DCI international Section in Geneva publishes a quarterly magazine, *International Children's Rights Monitor*, which is the organization's major tool for advocacy and awareness-building. Often including child labour issues, it is available in English, Spanish and French. DCI also has national sections in some 45 countries.

For further information contact:

Defence for Children International
P.O. Box 88
CH-1211 Geneva 20
Switzerland
Telephone: (41 22) 734 0558
Fax: (41 22) 740 1145

6. *INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC CHILD BUREAU (ICCB)*
(Reading 80)

ICCB campaigns for the rights of children, and facilitates cooperation between child-care professionals and academics to develop and implement action-research and programmes with a special focus on street children, working children, refugee children and children at risk of sexual exploitation. ICCB also sponsors educational programmes and training. A free newsletter, *ICCB News*, is produced in English and a review, *Children Worldwide*, often focusing on issues relating to child labour and basic education, is available in English, Spanish and French.

For further information contact:

International Catholic Child Bureau
65, Rue de Lausanne
Geneva 1202
Switzerland
Telephone: (41 22) 731 3248
Fax: (41 22) 731 7739

7. *THE CONCERNED FOR WORKING CHILDREN (CWC)*
(Reading 81)

The CWC, an organization based in Bangalore, India, is actively committed to the goal of eradicating child labour. It also works in different ways to empower children who are currently forced to work by the economic and social realities of their lives. In keeping with its multi-level aims, CWC is engaged in advocacy and lobbying activities in national and international forums, networking on local, national and international levels, and research, documentation and communication through its Centre for Applied Research and Documentation (CARD). It is also particularly noted for its successful encouragement of meaningful organization and community participation among child workers. CWC publishes a quarterly newsletter in English, *Molake* ('The Sprout'), which highlights child labour issues.

For more information, contact the Information Officer:

The Concerned for Working Children
303/2, L.B. Shastrinagar
Vimanapura Post, Annasandrapalya
Bangalore - 560 01
India
Telephone: (91 812) 527 5258

8. *YOUTH FOR POPULATION INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION (YPIC)*

YPIC is an NGO which operates in Ghana and networks with organizations in Kenya, Uganda and Mauritius, targeting working children, street chil-

dren and children in rural and urban settings. YPIC is involved in advocacy, vocational training, basic education, access to health services and life planning. YPIC uses music as an educational tool.
For further information contact:

Youth for Population Communication
P.O. Box 3110
Kumasi
Ghana
Telephone: (233 51) 51 6186
Fax: (233 51) 51 4132

9. *MANTHOC (Movement for Working Children and Adolescents)*

Based in Peru, MANTHOC has been active in organizing child workers since 1976 and is now the centre of a national network. Its activities include the organization of international meetings of child workers within Latin America. It also publishes a wide range of publications in Spanish.

MANTHOC
Corazeros 260
Pueblo Libre
Lima
Peru

10. *ENDA*

ENDA is a Pan-African organization with a particular interest in the environment and development issues. Its Senegal-based youth section — Jeunesse Action — has a long history of working with street and working children and has been active in developing the participation of child workers in programmes and policies. ENDA's training section in Harare has also developed child participatory methods of research and programming (Reading 90).

ENDA-Zimbabwe
P.O. Box 3492
Harare
Zimbabwe

ENDA Training Programme
P.O. Box A 113
Harare
Zimbabwe

ENDA Jeunesse Action
P.O. Box 3370
Dakar
Sénégal

11. *YUVA (Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action)*

YUVA runs a documentation centre and publications programme and is particularly interested in networking with other organizations interested in child work advocacy.
For more information contact:

YUVA
8, Ground Floor
33L, Mugbat Cross lane
Bombay - 400 004
India

INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. *UNESCO*
(Readings 32, 40, 59, 63, 66, 71, 74, 77)

Education Programme for Street and Working Children
Unit for Inter-agency Cooperation in Basic Education
UNESCO's programme on street and working children is involved in technical cooperation with 29 non-governmental organizations, raising awareness and fund-raising. It has a small documentation centre, with some references in French (bibliography available on request) and a travelling exhibition in English available free of charge.

UNESCO
Education Programme for Street and Working Children
Unit for Inter-agency Cooperation in Basic Education
Education Sector
7, Place de Fontenoy
75352 Paris
France
Telephone: (331 45) 68 1000
Fax: (331 45) 67 1690

2. *INSTITUTO INTERAMERICANO DEL NIÑO*

The Interamerican Institute forms part of the structure of the Organization of American States and has an ongoing database and bibliography on children in Latin America.
For further information contact:

Instituto Interamericano del Niño
Av. 8 de Octubre, 2904
11600 Montevideo
Uruguay
Telephone: (598 2) 47 2150
Fax: (598 2) 47 3242

3. *INTERNATIONAL LABOUR ORGANISATION (ILO)*
(Readings 11, 12, 44, 69)

The International Labour Office (ILO) is a specialized agency of the United Nations, though it began work earlier as part of the League of Nations. Based in Geneva, it deals with workers' rights and conditions of work.
In the past child labour was considered within the remit of the Conditions of Work and Vulnerable Workers sections of the ILO office in Geneva, although national and regional offices in countries

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where child work was seen to be a problem often took a particular interest. A recent feature of ILO work on child labour has been financial support from the German government, which has enabled the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) to be established to develop rehabilitation and alternative income projects in developing countries. IPEC concentrates on target groups most at risk: children in hazardous work, children in forced labour, especially vulnerable children (under 12 years old and girl children) as well as children living and working on the streets outside families. The existence of IPEC has stimulated the ILO as a whole to keep child labour policies and programmes under constant review.

The ILO produces numerous publications on child labour, often focusing on specific countries. It also publishes the *International Labour Review*, a specialist journal that sometimes deals with issues related to child labour. In addition, manuals and training courses relating to child labour programmes are developed in collaboration with the ILO training centre in Turin, Italy.

For more information contact:

International Labour Organisation
4, route des Morillons
1211 Geneva 22
Switzerland
Telephone: (41 22) 799 6111
Fax: (41 22) 798 8685

4. *UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF)*

(Readings 13, 29, 30, 52, 70, 73, 78)

UNICEF's initial mandate was relief work with children in Europe after the Second World War. With time, attention was shifted to the developing countries where UNICEF is active in implementing programmes for children and women to provide community-based services in primary health care, nutrition, basic education, and safe water and sanitation.

In recent years, UNICEF has signalled a particular concern for the problems of child workers and street children and has worked actively in many countries to improve their situations.

In UNICEF Headquarters in New York, a section of the Programme Division concerned with Children in Especially Difficult Circumstances (CEDC) is particularly involved in issues relating to street and working children: the Education section deals largely with basic education. Certain activities focusing on the Convention on the Rights of the Child fall under the remit of a unit in the Division of Public Affairs concerned with Child Rights and Public Policy.

The Programme Division produces a very useful annotated catalogue of UNICEF publications worldwide on children, childhood and related issues. At present two volumes exist, UNICEF Publications Volume 1 (1987-1989) and Volume 2 (1990-1992).

For general information on UNICEF contact:

UNICEF
UNICEF House
3 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
USA
Telephone: (212) 326 7000
Fax: (212) 888 7465

UNICEF has regional offices concerned with developing countries in Abidjan, Amman, Bangkok, Bogotá, Kathmandu and Nairobi

UNICEF Regional Office for West and Central Africa
P.O. Box 443
Abidjan 04
Côte d'Ivoire
Telephone: (225) 21 3131
Fax: (225) 22 7607

UNICEF Regional Office for the Middle East and North Africa
P.O. Box 811721
11181 Amman
Jordan
Telephone: (962 6) 62 9571
Fax: (962 6) 64 0049

UNICEF Regional Office for East Asia and the Pacific
P.O. Box 2-154
Bangkok 10200
Thailand
Telephone (66 2) 280 5931
Fax: (66 2) 280 3563

UNICEF Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean
Apartado Aéreo 7555
Santa Fé de Bogotá
Colombia
Telephone: (57 1) 310 5700
Fax: (57 1) 310 1437

UNICEF Regional Office for South Asia
P.O. Box 5815, Lekhnath Marg
Kathmandu
Nepal
Telephone: (977 1) 41 7082
Fax: (977 1) 41 9479

UNICEF Regional Office for Eastern and Southern Africa
P.O. Box 44145
Nairobi
Kenya
Telephone: (254 2) 62 1234
Fax: (254 2) 52 1913

For more research-based information from UNICEF, a variety of publications, including the present volume, are produced by the Florence-based UNICEF International Child Development Centre.

The UNICEF International Child Development Centre (often referred to as the Innocenti Centre) undertakes and promotes policy analysis and applied research, provides a forum for international professional exchanges of experiences, and disseminates ideas and research results emanating from activities. On a highly selective basis and in areas of programme relevance, the Centre provides training and capacity-building opportunities for UNICEF staff and professionals in other institutions with which UNICEF cooperates. The Centre's core programmes include economic policies and mobilization of resources for children, the rights of the child, and decentralization of planning and action for children. The Centre produces a Publications Catalogue each year, which may be obtained upon request.

For more information contact the Information Officer:

UNICEF International Child Development Centre
Piazza S.S. Annunziata, 12
50122 Florence
Italy
Telephone: (39 55) 234 5258
Fax: (39 55) 24 4817

Related Reading

AHRTAG and the Brazilian Center for the Defense of Rights of Children and Adolescents, *Resource Pack: On Sexual Health and AIDS Prevention for Socially Apart Youth*. London: AHRTAG, 1993.

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Swart, J., *Malunde: The Street Children of Hillbrow*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1990.

Wright, J.D., D. Kaminsky and M. Wittig, "Health and Social Conditions of Street Children in Honduras", *American Journal of the Diseases of children*, vol. 147, pp. 279-283.

The following journals are of particular interest to those working with street and working children:

Child Workers in Asia, gives a round-up of news and information in Asian countries, and is available on subscription from Child Workers in Asia , 4/68 Mooban Tawanna, Soi Puack Chit, Vibhavadi Rangsit Ave, Bangkok 10900, Thailand, Fax (66 2) 513 2498.

International Children's Rights Monitor, the quarterly journal of Defence for Children International (DCI), frequently provides information on street and working children and also gives news of conferences and new publications worldwide (see p. 144 for address).

Molake (The Sprout) is the quarterly journal of The Concerned for Working Children, Bangalore, India, but has a global perspective (see p. 144 for address).

A Letter from the Street, a newsletter published by the pan-African organization ENDA, is published in French and English (see p. 145 for address).

UNICEF International Child Development Centre Related Reading

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Himes, J.R., C. Landers and J. Leslie, *Women, Work and Child Care*, 1992.

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